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Noun Reduplication in Comox,
a Salish Language of
Vancouver Island

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction	1
I. Phonetics.....	2
II. Nouns normally reduplicated.....	9
III. Reduplicated plurals of nouns.....	11
IV. Reduplicated diminutives of nouns.....	20
V. Doubly reduplicated diminutive plurals of nouns.....	34
VI. Miscellaneous linguistic material.....	43
VII. Comparative notes on Salish noun reduplication.....	46

Noun Reduplication in Comox, a Salish Language of Vancouver Island

INTRODUCTION.

One of the most characteristic grammatical processes of a group of Northwest Pacific Coast languages, embracing the Tsimshian, Kwakiutl-Nootka, Salish, and Chemakum linguistic stocks, is initial reduplication, employed in both noun and verb forms to indicate a variety of grammatical concepts, chiefly those of plurality, distribution, and iteration. The Salish languages in particular are known to make exuberant use of reduplication for grammatical purposes, but the subject, which seems to bristle with irregularities and intricacies of detail, has never been adequately treated for any of the numerous dialects of the stock. Indeed, a thorough grammatical study, at the same time phonetically adequate, of a Salish language, is still one of the desiderata of American linguistics.

During the autumn of 1910, while prosecuting ethnologic and linguistic research for the Geological Survey of Canada among the Nootka Indians now living in two reserves near Alberni, B.C., opportunity was incidentally found to gather some linguistic data on Comox, a Salish language spoken on the east coast of Vancouver island near the present town of Comox. The dialect represented in these notes seems to be

Comox proper (*Q!ðmox^us*), with which *L!ðhox*, spoken on the mainland of British Columbia, was stated to be identical. *Sálól^u* was stated to be a northern dialect of the same language. This term is evidently identical with Boas' Çatlóltq, which he uses to apply to the most northern group of Coast Salish tribes, excluding Bella Coola, inhabiting "Discovery Passage, Valdes Island, Bute and Malaspina Inlets."¹ Boas adds, "The Çatlóltq are called K'omoks by the Lékwiltok'" (southernmost Kwakiutl tribe.)

The informant was Tommy Bill, an Indian of mixed blood, whose father belongs to the *Ts!icá'atH^a* tribe of Nootka Indians, while his mother was a Comox, he himself living with and being to all intents and purposes a member of the *Hōpátcl'as'atH^a* tribe of Nootkas. His knowledge of Comox was obtained in his earlier years, when living among his mother's people, whom he visits from time to time; it is only fair to add that he speaks mainly Nootka and English nowadays and does not claim to have a perfect command of Comox. However, the rather elementary character of the data obtained, together with convincing internal evidence derived from their study, leaves no room for doubt as to the essential accuracy of the material here presented. Most of the time spent on Comox was taken up with securing material pertinent to the problem of reduplication in nouns. For most of the nouns obtained, plural, diminutive, and diminutive plural forms were secured, all of which involve various types of reduplication. Our linguistic material thus naturally divides itself into three heads, not to speak of a small number of nouns that are always used in reduplicated form. A few introductory remarks on Comox phonetics and some supplementary data are also added.

I. PHONETICS.

VOWELS. The short vowels found in the Comox material secured are: *a* (as in German *Mann*); *ā* (as in English *bat*); *e* (short and open as in English *met*); *ɛ* (short and close as in French *été*); *i* (short and open as in English *bit*); *î* (short and close as in French *fini*); *o* (short and open as in German *dort*);

¹ See F. Boas, *First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia*, Report B. A. A. S., 1889, 5th Report on North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 10.

ø (short and close as in French *beau*); and *u* (short and open as in English *put*). Of these vowels, *e*, *i*, and *ɨ* are etymologically one sound, which is modified by phonetic surroundings; similarly, *ø* and *u*. Velar consonants tend to lower preceding or following *i* to *e* (possibly sometimes *e*), while certain consonants (particularly *s* and *ʃ*) tend to palatalize *i* to *ɨ*. *e* and *o*, which latter does not occur often, are doubtless etymologically related to *e* and *ø* respectively, but seem in every case to be clearly kept distinct from these. *ā* is not common.

Corresponding to each of the short vowels is a long vowel (long *ā*, however, has not been found). These are indicated as: *ā* (as in German *Bahn*); *ê* (long and open as in French *mère*, or as in English *bear*, but without "r-vanish"); *ē* (long and close as in German *See*); *î* (long and open as in English *beer*, but without "r-vanish"); *ī* (long and close as in English *see*); *ō* (long and close as in English *roll*, or as in German *Sohn*); *ô* (long and open as in English *born*, but without "r-vanish"); *ū* (long and close as in English *rule*); and *û* (long and open as in English *poor*, but without "r-vanish"). Similarly to the corresponding short vowels, and under parallel phonetic circumstances, *ē*, *î*, and *ī* are variants of one sound, etymologically speaking, though *î* is often to be interpreted as lengthened form of inorganic vowels, in which case it does not seem to vary with *ē* and *ī*; *ō*, *û*, and *ū* are likewise representatives of what is etymologically a single sound. *ô* does not often occur; it is probably etymologically related to *ō*. *ê* occurs often and cannot be considered a mere variant of *ē*.

As not infrequently happens in American Indian languages, the long vowels are not always held out with even stress, but end with short rearticulations which give the whole vowel in each case a quasi-diphthongal effect. Such vowels have been noted by the writer in Takelma, Southern Paiute, and, at least to a moderate extent, in Nootka; Boas has noted them in Tsimshian. While they occur to a considerable extent in Comox, they cannot as in Takelma be considered the normal forms of the long vowels; sometimes the short rearticulations seem to serve as glides to following consonants, particularly velars. The quasi-diphthongal long vowels are here indicated by long vowels followed by superior short vowels, the vocalic

quality of the latter being indicated as in normal short vowels. There are found: \bar{a}^a ; \bar{e}^e ; \bar{e}^i (occurs before anterior palatal consonants); \hat{i}^i ; \bar{i}^i ; \hat{i}^e (occurs before velar consonants); \bar{o}^o and \bar{o}^u ; and \hat{u}^u . A number of cases also occur of short vowels followed by weak rearticulating vowels; such are e^e , o^o , and i^e (here the e is a glide to the following velar consonant). Some of these may well represent secondarily shortened long vowels. Differing from such long or short vowels with quasi-diphthongal character are vowels that are secondarily diphthongized by a vocalic glide whose timbre depends wholly on the following consonant; such is \hat{i}^u in *kúpû^umî^uŋ^u* "hill," in which the second u is a glide due to the u -timbre of the final consonant.

Short vowels of somewhat obscure quality are also found, either representing dulled forms of normal short vowels or being of inorganic origin and meant to lighten consonant clusters or serve as glides. Such vowels are: Λ (as in English *but*, yet sometimes less clearly marked in quality), which is sometimes inorganic, sometimes dulled from a ; E (obscure vowel with e -quality); and I (very short rather unclear i).

At times short vowels are so weakly articulated as to be barely audible; these are rather "murmured" short vowels of etymological significance than merely glides, timbre-echos of preceding consonants, or voiceless vowels. Examples are: o in *lô^bbô^om'* "small clam" ($-b-$ reduced from *lô^ob-* in *lô^obô^m* "clam"; yet in this case o can just as well be morphologically dispensed with and phonetically explained as a timbre-echo of $-ôl-$); A in *qê^uw^Ax* "steel-head salmon" (that A is organic, despite its dull quality and extreme brevity, and reduced from a , is indicated by Nootka *qê^uwah* "steel-head salmon," with which Comox *qê^uw^Ax* is evidently identical; borrowing has doubtless taken place); A and a in *hê^wAqen'* "swan" and its diminutive *hê^wAqâdôl*.

Another class of "murmured" vowels (German 'Murmelvokale') is formed by weakly articulated, yet not voiceless, vowels occurring in syllabically final position after glottal stops ('). Such vowels are only in part "murmured echoes," i.e., reduced repetitions of immediately preceding fully voiced vowels (such are a'^a , e'^i , $\hat{i}'i$, $a\hat{i}'i$, $\bar{o}'o$, $\bar{o}'u$; vowel breakings of this type occur often in American languages); in some cases we have

also murmured vowels after glottal stops that are of different quality and etymologically distinct from immediately preceding vowels (such are *a'* and *ā'*).

Some consonants, notably glottalized ("fortis") consonants, are apt to be followed by timbre-echoes dependent in quality on the preceding vowel. This simply means that the oral resonance chamber characteristic of a vowel may, failing to be materially disturbed by the following consonant position, linger on and thus become acoustically noticeable as a voiceless (sometimes aspirated) vocalic echo; if the consonant is a spirant, the vocalic timbre may be audible during its production. Examples of such unaspirated timbre-echoes after glottalized consonants are: *a* in *p!ā'alats!*^a "skunk" and *ə* in *k!ē'dōt!*^ə "porpoise." In *lā'gvet!*^a "herring" the *t!* was heard with definite *a*-timbre despite preceding *ē*. After *u* (*o*)-vowels syllabically final *k*-sounds are regularly followed by echoes (aspirations when consonant is not glottalized) with *u*-timbre. Hence *k'*^u, *k!u*, *x'*^u, *q'*^u, *q!u*, and *x'*^u (see below for orthography of *k*-sounds). These sounds, however, are also very frequent after unrounded vowels, as in *lā'dak'*^u "skin;" in such cases they represent original labialized *k*-sounds (see below). Aspiration with definite *u*-timbre is also found after *t*, as in *sālt'*^u "woman."

Excluding such inorganic diphthongs as are formed by vowels and following glides (e.g., *i'*^u), there have been found as true short diphthongs *ai*, *au* (also *au*), *āi*, *ei*, and long diphthongs *āi*, *āu*. Vowels normally forming diphthongs that do not so unite, each preserving its full value, are separated by . (thus, *a.i* as distinct from true diphthong *ai*). Stress accent is indicated by ' over vowels.

CONSONANTS. The consonant system of Comox is fairly full, including, as it does, eleven distinct series that differ according to place of articulation. As regards manner of articulation, six distinct series are to be recognized (voiceless stops, glottalized or "fortis" stops, voiced stops, voiced nasals, voiceless spirants, and voiced spirants), though by no means all of these are represented for all places of articulation. The voiceless stop and glottalized stop series are complete, the voiceless spirants nearly so, while the others are quite defective. All these consonants may be represented in the form of a table:—

	VOICE- LESS STOPS	GLOT- TALIZED STOPS	VOICED STOPS	NASALS	VOICE- LESS SPIRANTS	VOICED SPIRANTS
LARYNGEAL (GLOTTAL).....	'				h	
VELAR.....	q	q'			x	
LABIALIZED VELAR.....	qw	q'w			xw	
GUTTURAL.....	k	k'			ɣ	
LABIALIZED GUTTURAL.....	kw	k'w			ɣw	
PRE-GUTTURAL (ANTERIOR PALA- TAL).....	kv	kv'	gv		xv	y
DORSAL LATERAL.....	L	L'	l (voiced contin- uant) dj		l	
PALATAL SIBILANT.....	tc	tc'			c	
ALVEOLAR SIBILANT.....	ts	ts'			s ¹	
ALVEOLAR.....	t	t'	(d)	n		
LABIAL.....	p	p'	(b)	m		w

c is pronounced like *sh* of English *ship*; *xv* like *ch* of German *ich*. *tc*, *tc'*, *dj* (like *j* of English *jam*), *ts*, and *ts'* are affricatives (stop plus corresponding spirant; no simple stops correspond to *tc*-series). *L* and *L'* are also affricatives, but with lateral (voiceless spirant *l*) release.

b and *d* are phonetic variants of *m* and *n*; *b* and *d* were often, though not consistently, heard between vowels, *m* and *n* rather consistently as initials, while *m* and *n* were more often heard as syllabic finals than *b* and *d*. These *b-m* and *d-n* sounds have been at various times analysed by Boas as "semi-nasalized" consonants. "The nasal opening," he writes, "may differ in width, and the stricture of the upper nares may produce semi-nasalized consonants."² Again, in speaking more definitely of Coast Salish, ". . . the *b* sound . . . is produced with half-closed nose by the Indians of the Strait of Fuca, in the State of Washington. . . . The characteristic trait of the sound is a semiclosure of the nose, similar to the effect produced by a cold in the head."³ These remarks doubtless apply to Comox as

¹ Boas uses *c* (interdental spirant, like *th* of English *thick*) in certain words for our *s*. See his Catlăltq vocabulary, Report B.A.A.S., 1890, 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, pp. 141-163. I do not know if Tommy Bill's failure to use this sound is an individual peculiarity or not.

² F. Boas, *Introduction*, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911, p. 22.

³ *ibid.*, p. 17.

well as to more southern Coast Salish languages, yet it seems likely to the writer that under certain phonetic conditions these semi-nasals become true nasals. No attempt will here be made to normalize orthography on this point, a faithful record of what was heard, or thought to be heard, being presented.

Eliminating *b* and *d* as of secondary origin (*gʷ* and *dʒ*, it should be carefully noted, are true sonant stops, not "intermediates"), all the other consonants listed in the table are etymologically distinct, that is, none of them are mere variants. (*k*, *kʰ*, and *ɬ*, however, may prove to be merely secondary forms of *kw*, *kʰw*, and *ɬw*.) This gives us no less than thirty-six (or thirty-three) organically distinct consonants to operate with. A secondary series of aspirated surds (voiceless stops followed by aspiration) arises when voiceless stops occur as syllabic finals (written *pʰ*, *tʰ*, *kʰ*, *kʰʷ*, *qʰ*, *tcʰ*); *kw* and *qw* become *kʰʷ* and *qʰʷ*, that is, their aspiration-release has *u*-timbre; similarly, *kʰw* and *qʰw* in this position become *kʰʷʷ* and *qʰʷʷ*. *q*, it may be noted, is often released into a weak spirant glide *x* (written *x*) before the following vowel is attacked (thus, *qʷa* for *qa*). Final vowels and *m* and *n* are also often followed by aspiration (*-aʰ* and similarly for other vowels, *mʰ* or less often *bʰ*, *nʰ* or less often *dʰ*), though this was not consistently heard. Final *m* and *n* are etymologically distinct from final glottally affected *m* and *n*, which are written *mʰ* and *nʰ* (sometimes breath release is heard after glottal release, when they are written *mʰʰ* and *nʰʰ*). Long consonants (indicated by *ː* after consonant) were noted, but seem to be of no etymological significance (examples are *qː*, *dː*).

SOUND CHANGES. Lengthening and reduction of vowels are important phonological processes in Comox, also, though to less extent, changes of vowel quality. As these, however, are generally of grammatical significance, they are best taken up in their proper place under types of reduplication. As more strictly phonetic pure and simple in character is to be considered the palatalizing of *a* to *i* in the neighbourhood of *gʷ*, also the change of *a* to *u* and *i* in appropriate phonetic circumstances. These changes also, however, are most clearly brought out in connexion with morphological processes.

Many cases of *gʷ*, perhaps all, are undoubtedly due to original *w*. It seems that *w*, when it came to stand between vowels

(not, it would seem, including cases of preceding vowel plus glottal stop), also initially in many cases, regularly passed into g^v . Thus, as diminutive of $x\dot{a}ucin^*$ "bone" is found $x\dot{e}xigwicin^*$ < $*x\dot{e}xawicin^*$ ($-ag^v-$ becomes $-ig^v-$, as noted above). Similarly, from $q\dot{e}'w^4x$ "steel-head salmon" is formed $q\dot{e}'qeg^veex$ "little steel-head salmon" and $q\dot{e}qauq\dot{a}'ag^veex$ "little steel-head salmon (plur.)." This phonetic law explains a class of plurals, formed by reduplicating with $q-$ vowel, derived from stems in internal $-g^v-$. Thus, from $tl\dot{e}g^vem$ (< $*tl\dot{e}wem$) "sun, moon" is formed plur. $tl\dot{o}t!eg^vem$ (< $*tl\dot{a}w!ewem$); other examples will be given in their proper place. So also is explained suffix $-\dot{a}g^wil$ "canoe" in such forms as $tc\dot{a}d\dot{a}^ag^wil$ "three canoes," $s\dot{e}yats\dot{a}^ag^wil$ "five canoes," as compared with $-a\dot{u}l$ in $m\dot{o}s\dot{a}u\dot{l}$ "four canoes;" $-\dot{a}g^wil$ is evidently from $*-\dot{a}w\dot{i}l$ (cf. Kw\`antlen, of Cowichan group of Coast Salish, $-aq\dot{i}l$ "canoe" in numerals,¹ i.e., $-a\dot{x}w\dot{i}l$; perhaps cf. Comox $n\dot{e}xw\dot{i}l$ "canoe"). An interesting test case is $q\dot{e}'g^vas$ "deer," doubtless a loanword from Kwakiutl (cf. Kwakiutl $q\dot{e}was$ "deer").² Another such test case is afforded by Comox $t\dot{i}g^vix^u$ "nine" < $*t\dot{i}awax^u$ or $*t\dot{i}awux^u$ (cf. Kw\`antlen $t\dot{u}q$ "nine,"³ i.e., $t\dot{u}x$ or $t\dot{u}x$, contracted from $*t\dot{u}wux$). Compare also Comox $h\dot{e}'g^vos$ "chief" with Pentlatch and Siciatl $h\dot{e}wus^4$. On the other hand a number of words have been found with w between vowels. Such are $ts!ats!a\dot{w}icin^*$ "hail," $xw\dot{a}'aw\dot{i}t^*$ "fire," and $\dot{a}w\dot{a}k^u$ "tobacco." It is not clear how this $-w-$ is related to $-w-$ > $-g^v-$.

Just as g^v and w are related, so there is reason to believe that dj and y are related, though there is perhaps not quite as convincing internal evidence at hand. See Type VIII of plural formations for such evidence. Moreover, with Comox $dj\dot{i}dis$ "tooth" compare Kw\`antlen $y\dot{e}nis$ "tooth;"⁵ with Comox $dj\dot{i}cin^*$ "foot" compare Siciatl $y\dot{i}cin^*$.⁶

¹ See C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halk\`om\`elxm, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 65.

² See F. Boas, *Kwakiutl*, Handbook of American Indian Languages, Bulletin 40, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911, p. 447.

³ C. Hill-Tout, *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ F. Boas, *Comparative Vocabulary of Eighteen Languages spoken in British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada, p. 148.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halk\`om\`elxm, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 86.

⁶ F. Boas, *Comparative Vocabulary of Eighteen Languages spoken in British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the North-western Tribes of Canada, p. 147.

II. NOUNS NORMALLY REDUPLICATED.

A considerable number of Comox nouns always appear in reduplicated form, reduplication in these cases being of no grammatical significance, but belonging to the noun as such. Many of them are animal names, and of these some are quite evidently onomatopoeic. Ten fairly distinct types of reduplication seem to be illustrated in the rather limited material available. Very likely others exist.

Type I. Completely Reduplicating.

<i>hō'mhō'm</i> blue grouse	<i>xōp'xōp'</i> humming-bird
<i>kʷāckʷāc</i> bluejay	<i>ts!i'xʷts!i'xʷ</i> fish-hawk
<i>pōkʷpōkʷ</i> liver	<i>gʷtʷgʷtʷ</i> panther
<i>qē'n'qen'</i> duck	<i>qʷtʷqʷtʷ</i> sea-gull

"Duck" and "sea-gull" have both syllables with vowels alike in quality but with short vowel in the second.

Type II. Completely Reduplicating with ē.

<i>tē'ltōl'</i> small butter-ball duck	<i>hā'ihē'</i> arrow
--	----------------------

"Arrow" belongs perhaps rather with Type I. Both of these nouns lose a glottal stop in the reduplicating syllable.

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cvc₁.¹

<i>tītctītctī'c</i> owl	<i>kwa'kwā'ēdjō'</i> grey squirrel
<i>t!āq't!āqāi</i> dog-wood	

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cē.

<i>mā'ēmau</i> cat	<i>kʷ!ē'kʷ!ākʷ!</i> crow
<i>tč'itca.iq'</i> salt-water hunter	

In "salt-water hunter" reduplicating *tčī-* is broken into *tčī'i-*.

¹ In these formulæ *c* represents first consonant of stem, *v* first vowel, *c₁* second consonant of stem, *v₁* second vowel, and so on. *ʷ* represents any long vowel, *ʷ̄* any shortened vowel.

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: ci.

Only one or two certain examples have been found of this type. They differ from the preceding in that the vowel of the reduplicating syllable is short.

qwi'qwā't!Alā'k' butterfly *wé'wāļos* young man
(form probably diminutive in).

Possibly also:—

é'ādjām' young woman

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cā or ca.

lāLāpx pocket-knife *qwāqumī's* marten
xāxē'i nit *māmstcō'm* mink

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cv.

ts!ats!āwicin' hail *tc!atc!ā't!ān''* mouse
xwāxwadjō'm fly (word probably diminutive in form).
qAq'tā'amas game with wooden ball¹
qóqpwī'm' down (of bird)

Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cēv'.

qā'aqa' rush mat *djā'a'dja'* tree

Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: cō.

Only one example has been found of this type:—

tōt'x'lał necklace

Type X. Reduplicating Syllable: cēc.

Of this very peculiar type (doubly reduplicating consonant, otherwise like Type IV) also only one example has been found:—

q!iq!q!ā'adjē'uk'u butter-ball duck

¹ Formed from *q'tā'abas* "wooden ball covered with spruce-roots." There were two sides in the game, with the same number on each. Each side had a goal consisting of a little pit, which was guarded by one man. All but the two guards gathered in the centre. One man threw up the wooden ball and everyone tried to catch it, run with it to the goal of the opponents, and put it into the pit. Those of the other side tried to take the ball away from the one that had it. The side that first made ten goals won the game. After four goals had been made, the game was suspended for a while and a general free-for-all fight took place.

Here may also be given:—

q!áq!tuṣ“ big fire (form is augmentative?): cf. *q!átiṣ*“ fires scattered around.

III. REDUPLICATED PLURALS OF NOUNS.

By far the larger number of Comox nouns form their plural by reduplication, in a few cases different stems are used for singular and plural, while still other nouns seem to form no plural. The most persistent type of plural reduplication is that in which both first and second consonants of stem are repeated, though less numerously represented types also occur.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cvc₁

<i>!Akq̃m</i> “ beaver	plural <i>tl!Ak</i> “ <i>tl!Akq̃m</i> “
<i>kúmāq̃in</i> “ sea-lion	<i>kumkúmāq̃in</i> “
<i>qwaḏi</i> ’s humpbacked whale	<i>qwaḏ’qwaḏi</i> ’s
<i>qwaṣam</i> woolly grouse	<i>qwaṣqwaṣam</i>
<i>xōp’xōp’</i> humming-bird	<i>xōp’xōp’xōp’</i>
<i>ts!oxō</i> “ codfish	<i>ts!óxts!oxō</i> “
<i>L!Axwā</i> ’i dog salmon	<i>L!AxL!Axwā</i> ’i
<i>sá’an</i> “ coho salmon	<i>sá’asá’an</i> “
<i>q!wāt’i’tcin</i> “ humpback salmon	<i>q!wāt’q!wāt’i’tcin</i> “
<i>xá’ā</i> big clam	<i>xá’axá’ā</i>
<i>Lṣ’Am</i> “ cockle	<i>Lṣ’Lṣ’Am</i> “ (type VIII?)
<i>xāpā</i> ’i red cedar	<i>xāp’xāpā</i> ’i
<i>qō’u</i> ’a’i hemlock	<i>qō’uqō’u</i> ’a’i
<i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak	<i>q!áp!q!áp!exwai</i> (with lengthening of first stem-vowel; -e- is in- organic)
<i>p!ē’ixāi</i> alder	<i>p!ē’p!ē’ixāi</i> (type VIII?)
<i>tlē’ibāi</i> wild cherry bush	<i>tlē’tlē’ibāi</i> (type VIII?)
<i>’āwāk</i> “ tobacco	<i>’au’āwāk</i> “ many bun- ches of tobacco
<i>q!wā’ix</i> wood	<i>q!wāiq!wā’ix</i>
<i>xá’a.idatc</i> stump	<i>xá’axá’a.idatc</i>

<i>máqsin'</i> nose	plural <i>máqimaqsin'</i>
<i>djicin'</i> foot	<i>djicdjicin'</i>
<i>djidis</i> tooth	<i>djididdjidis</i>
<i>L!ikuinas</i> heart	<i>L!ék' L!ikuinas</i>
<i>xáucín'</i> bone	<i>xáuxaucín'</i>
<i>k^uít!</i> little finger	<i>k^uít!k^uít!</i>
<i>ts!ámāla'</i> index finger	<i>ts!ámts!ámāla'</i>
<i>q!wát'am</i> river	<i>q!wát'q!wat'am</i>
<i>páxai'</i> creek	<i>páxpaxai'</i>
<i>L!áqē^enac</i> spring	<i>L!áq' L!áqē^enac</i>
<i>kúpú^umí^ux^u</i> hill	<i>kup'kúpumí^ux^u</i> (with shortening of second stem-vowel)
<i>L!áxai'</i> old man	<i>L!áxL!áxai'</i>
<i>qál'q!</i> warrior	<i>qál'qálq!</i>
<i>L!ams</i> house	<i>L!ámL!ams</i>
<i>xásam</i> box	<i>xásxasam</i>
<i>kwá'am</i> coiled storage basket	<i>kwá'^akwá'am</i>
<i>L!pātīl</i> basket bag	<i>L!Ap' L!Apātīl</i>
<i>q!ák^u</i> board	<i>q!ák^uq!ák^u</i>
<i>k^u!ík^uāyu</i> oar	<i>k^u!ík^uk^u!ík^uāyu</i>
<i>sáq'ák^u</i> war-club	<i>sáq'sáq'ák^u</i>
<i>lāq!^u</i> bow	<i>lāq!^ulāq!^u</i>
<i>tc!ít'qāmin</i> knife	<i>tc!ít'tc!ít'qāmin'</i>
<i>síp!Amîn'</i> shinny stick	<i>síp'síp!Amî'n'</i>
<i>lāq!As</i> mountain-goat blanket	<i>lāq!lāq!As</i>
<i>L!pî'ts!ā'^a</i> yellow-cedar	<i>L!Ap' L!Apî'ts!ā'^a</i>
<i>q!As'Adāi</i> buckskin shirt	<i>q!Asq!As'adāi</i>
<i>L!áq!acin''</i> moccasin	<i>L!Aq!L!Aq!acin''</i>
<i>páq'āqs</i> white-eyed	<i>páq'paq'āqs</i>
<i>tcíxāqs</i> red-eyed	<i>tcíxtcíxāqs</i>

Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cac.

This type differs from the preceding in that, while both first and second stem-consonants are reduplicated, the stem vowel between these consonants is not, but is replaced by an inorganic a-vowel. If the vowel is followed or broken by a glottal stop, or if there are two successive vowels, the second consonant is

repeated just the same, the glottal stop being neglected in the reduplicating syllable. Thus, *tc!e'ād-* and *L!ā'al-* reduplicate as *tc!in-* and *L!Al-* respectively. Several nouns with stem-*A* and reduplicating-*A*, listed under Type I, should perhaps belong here. Three sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether *A* remains as such (sub-type *a*), is palatalized by *s*, *tc*, *tc!*, *kʷ*, *l*, or *y* to *i* (*I*) (sub-type *b*), or is labialized by *ɣw* to *u* (sub-type *c*).

Sub-type II a.

m!e'xāl bear
L!ā'al'ō'm' wolf
q!ā^aL! land otter
q!ā^asa' sea otter
xā^a'wa fur seal
āsx^u hair seal
k!ō^adōt!^o porpoise

p!āq!Adātc goose
qé'n'qen' duck
hēw^Aqen' swan
qé'w^Ax steel-head salmon
tā^aq!wa' devil-fish
mát!āi horse clam

sā^a'ba' mussel
mā^atc!in' louse
ōsā'i huckleberry bush
xwāsAbāi soapberry bush
t!é'ō'dē^aqwai salmon-berry bush
t!ā'abuxwāi gooseberry bush

qēx^u ring finger
L!ā^aq!wāi fish-gill
sōpAdatc tail
ts!āmugl cloud

plural *māxmi^axāl*
L!ā!L!ā'al'ō'm'
q!AL!q!ā^aL!
q!ās^aq!ā^asa'
xāuxā^a'wa
'ās'āsx^u
k!wAd'k!wō^adōt!^o (with
 shortening of second
 vowel of stem)
p!āq!p!āq!Adātc
qā^ad'qēn'qen'
hāu^ahēw^Aqen'
qAuqé'w^Ax
tAQ!tā^aq!wa'
mAt!mā^at!āi (with length-
 ening of first vowel
 of stem)
sAm^asā^a'ba'
mAtc!Imā^atc!in'
'ās'ōsā'i
xwās^axwāsAbāi
t!Ant!é'ō'dē^aqwai
t!Am^at!Amuxwāi (with re-
 duction of *ā'a* of stem
 to *A*)
qāx^uqēx^u
L!āq!^uL!ā^aq!wāi
sāp'sō^upAdatc
ts!ām^ats!āmugl

t!á'°q!at' mountain
sē°qet' dug hole, well
tō'mic man
xā°p! baby basket
t!ō'mt' paddle
waxā°ts!i pipe
tōt'x°lal necklace
q'tā'abas wooden ball used in
 game
mītālī beaver-tooth die

qā'°qa rush mat
lāq!wāinōp cedar-bark mat
L!āxē oldest
L!ātsāmi strong

An irregular example of this sub-type is:—

sāts!Am tyee salmon

plural *t!Aq!t!ā°q!at'*
sAQ'sē°qet'
tāmto'mic
xAp!xā°p!
t!Am!t!ō'mt'
wāxwaxā°ts!i
tāt'ōt'x°lal
qāt'q'tā'abas

māt'mî'tālī (with length-
 ening of first stem-
 vowel)

qAQ'qā'°qa'
lāq!°lāq!wāinōp'
L!AxL!āxē
L!A!L!ātsāmi

Here the first and third, instead of first and second, consonants are reduplicated.

Sub-type II b.

tc!é'ādo dog
k°āck°ūc bluejay
lō''°bōm' small clam
ts!ātc!ilbai spruce

sōsîn' mouth

sāpāxōs horn
kō°sād' star
yāxai'°i pack-basket

tc!intc!e'ādo
k°ūck°ūck°ūc
līmlō''°bōm'
ts!īt°ts!ātc!ilbai (*ts!īt°*-
 instead of *ts!it°*-)
stssōsin' (with shorten-
 ing of second stem-
 vowel)

sīpsāpāxōs
kwtskōsād'
yīxīyāxai'°i

Irregular examples of this sub-type are:—

tc!atc!ā°t!ān'' mouse

tīx°sal tongue

tc!īt°tc!ā°t!ān'' (for *tc!īt°*-
 instead of *tc!it°*-see
 "spruce" above)
tīstīx°sal

In the first of these the plural is built not on the already reduplicated simplex (as e.g., in "bluejay" above), but on a simpler unreduplicated stem abstracted from it. In the second example the first and third, instead of the first and second consonants, are reduplicated (cf. "tyee salmon" above).

Sub-type II c. Only one example is available:—

ɬwātəqə'm "falls" plural *ɬūt'ɬwātəqə'm*

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cō or cə.

Nearly all of these nouns have *gʷ* as their second consonant, representing, as we have already seen, original *w*. These nouns could be considered a sub-type of Type II, were it not that they form their reduplicating syllable not in *-au*, as might perhaps be expected (cf. *ɬAurAucin'* under Type I), but in *-ō-* (*-ū-* after *dj-* and *gʷ-*) or *-ə-* (probably due to contraction of original *-aw-*). Two sub-types can be recognized, according to whether the reduplicating vowel is short (sub-type *a*) or long (sub-type *b*).

Sub-type III a.

tā'agʷaxʷ fern *tətā'agʷaxʷ*
tā'agʷin salmon spear *tətā'agʷin*

Sub-type III b.

tā'agʷēt!^a herring *tōlā'agʷēt!*^a
p!эгʷāi halibut *p!ōʷp!эгʷāi*
gʷʔi'gʷʔi panther **gʷūgʷʔi'gʷʔi* (not obtained
 as such, but implied
 in diminutive plural
 gʷʔi'gʷūgʷʔi'gʷʔi "pan-
 ther cubs")

t!эгʷem sun, moon *t!ōʷt!эгʷem* sun and moon
hэгʷəs chief *hōʷhэгʷəs*
dj!эгʷin' song *djūd!эгʷin'*
tā'dakʷ skin *tōʷtā'dakʷ*

It is not clear why "skin" should reduplicate with *ō*-vowel.

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cv; Syncope of First Stem Vowel.

Only one example has been found of this type. As it begins with *g^u*-, the stem *-g^u* of the plural, coming immediately before another consonant, reverts to *w*, uniting with preceding *a* to form *au*.

g^uáq'āhas married woman plural *g^uáuq'āhas*

That **wáq'āhas* is to be presupposed is corroborated by comparison with Kwántlén *s-wā-wékus* "married woman."¹

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃc.

Nouns belonging to this group have long stem-vowels and differ from Type I in that the reduplicated vowel is shortened, though it keeps its quality.

<i>xāug^uas</i> grizzly bear	<i>xáuxāug^uas</i>
<i>qá'um'</i> eye	<i>qáuqā'um'</i>
<i>qǃ^u'mai'</i> snow on ground	<i>qúmǃǃ^u'mai'</i>
<i>lókǃ^omǃn</i> bailer	<i>luk'lókǃ^omǃn</i>

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cac₁.

<i>tí'hā^adān'</i> chief's wife	<i>táhtíhā^adān'</i>
<i>hǃq'sā^amǃn'</i> pole for poling canoe	<i>háq'hǃq'sā^amǃn'</i>
<i>ǃlqai'</i> snake	<i>'áǃ'ǃlqai'</i> (with shortening of first stem-vowel)
<i>al</i> leggings	<i>'áǃ'al</i>

"Leggings" may, of course, just as well belong to Type I.

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cv.

<i>q!qá'āda</i> ear	<i>q!q!qá'āda</i>
<i>tǃ (L!Ams)</i> big (house)	<i>tǃtǃ (L!Ams)</i> big (houses)
<i>ǃx^u</i> snow-flake	<i>ǃ'ǃx^u</i> falling snow

¹ C. Hill-Tout, *Ethnological Studies of the Mainland Halkǃmǃlǃm, a division of the Salish of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 89.

Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cē*.

According to varying phonetic circumstances we have either *i* or *ē*, the latter occurring after *q*, *q'* and *x*. The examples of this type obtained are:—

q!āik'ʷ eagle

kwúdjāk'ʷ trout

tī'xʷ yellow cedar

djā'ʷdja' tree

sā'īdja' leaf

tčāyac hand

sayā'ada neck

qā'ya' water

sā'yał lake

xā'adjaic stone

tčū''i child

k!ōyqkqbī'n (or *-mī'd*) fisherman

sidjāqō'p' basket hat

lāidatctan woman's cedar-bark
skirt

plural *q!ē'q!āik'ʷ*

kwī'kwúdjāk'ʷ

tītī'xwai' (may belong
also to type VII; note
-ai' in plural)

**djīdjā'ʷdja'* (not ob-
tained as such, but
implied by diminutive
plural *djēdjīdjā-
'ʷdja'*)

sīsa'īdja'

tčītčāyac

sīsayā'ada

qēqā'ya'

sīsā'yał

xēxā'adjaic

tčītčū'i

k!wīk!ōyqkqmī'n

sīsīdjāqō'p'

līlāidatctan

Eliminating "yellow cedar," which, as was pointed out, may just as well be reckoned as belonging to Type VII (there is reason, however, to believe that *tī'xʷ* goes back to **tīyixʷ*; see diminutive type I b and diminutive plural type II f), all these plurals may be plausibly explained as cases of Type II, reduplicating *-i-* or *-ē-* being the contracted result of *-ay-*. It will be observed that the stems of these nouns contain either *i-* diphthongs, including broken groups (*-āi-*, *-a'ī-*, *-ū'i-*), vowel plus *y* (*-āy-*, *-ay-*, *-ā'y-*, *-oy-*), or vowel plus *dj* (*-udj-*, *-ā'ʷdj-*, *-ā'adj-*, *-idj-*); *dj*, as we saw above, is probably a resultant of original *y*.

Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: cā (or ca).

Sub-type IX a (with ā).

<i>tc!ē! rain</i>	plural <i>tc!āt!c!ē!</i>
<i>qō'qwai speaker</i>	<i>qwāqō'qwai</i>
<i>yīp'ī'x' hole</i>	<i>yāyīp'ī'x'</i>

Sub-type IX b (with a).

<i>tct'itca.iq' salt-water hunter</i>	<i>tcātct'itca.iq'</i>
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Type X. First Stem-vowel Changed to ē.

These nouns are reduplicated to begin with, and substitute for plural reduplication a change of the first stem-vowel to ē (long and open).

The few examples are:—

<i>wē'wālōs young man</i>	<i>wē''wālōs</i>
<i>ē'ādjam' young woman</i>	<i>ē''ādjam'</i>
<i>kυ!ē'kυ!ākυ! crow</i>	<i>kυ!ē'kυ!ākυ!</i>

Type XI. Reduplicating Syllables: cācāc.

Only two examples have been found of this doubly reduplicating type of plural formation. In the first, the *a*, coming after *g''*, is palatalized to *i*; in the second, the reduplicating *-ay-* becomes *-ī-* (see Type VIII).

<i>g''ā'dī'm slave</i>	<i>g''āg''īdg''ādī'm</i>
<i>tāyac killer-whale</i>	<i>tātītāyac</i>

Irregular Plurals.

Several plurals listed above are somewhat irregular, but there has been no difficulty in assigning them to definite types. The two that follow are quite irregular. The second shows not only reduplication but breaking of *-a-* to *ā'a-*.

<i>djā'adja' tree</i>	<i>djādājā'd'm</i>
<i>māl'q'' fawn</i>	<i>māmā'aliq''</i>

A few nouns change the stem entirely in passing from singular to plural. Such are:—

<i>sǎlt'ʷ</i> woman	plural <i>nig'áp'tai</i>
<i>sǎ'aslt'ʷ</i> girl (diminutive of <i>sǎlt'ʷ</i>)	<i>nínig'ap'tai</i> (diminutive of <i>nig'áp'tai</i>)

Involving this same change of stem is:—

<i>sǎltux'ʷ</i> married man	<i>nig'áp'tahai'</i>
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Rather different, presumably, is:—

<i>tátr'nātcap'</i> leg	<i>tcúk!u'nātcap'</i>
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which keeps the same suffix in the plural, while changing the stem.

Nouns without Plurals.

Quite a number of nouns were secured which form no plural. Some of these are reduplicated to begin with, and there is clearly a feeling, though one by no means consistently applied, against re-reduplication in forming plurals. Others, however, are such as might easily be reduplicated, were it usage to do so. It is possible that reduplicated plurals might have been given for some of these by other informants. Reduplicated nouns that form no plural are:—

<i>qʷt'igʷt'i</i> panther	<i>qwǎqumî's</i> marten
<i>títctitcī'c</i> owl	<i>mámstcō'm</i> mink
<i>ts!i'xʷts!i'xʷ</i> fish-hawk	<i>qwt'iqwi'</i> sea-gull
<i>qwi'qwǎ'at!Alā'k'</i> butterfly	<i>xwǎxwǎdjō'm'</i> fly
(probably diminutive; dim. plur. is found)	

<i>pók'ʷpók'ʷ</i> liver	<i>xǎxǎ'i</i> nit
<i>lǎlǎpʷ</i> knife	<i>hǎihei'</i> arrow

Non-reduplicated nouns for which my informant would give no plurals are:—

<i>mǎyos</i> raccoon	<i>pī'k!</i> ground-hog
<i>q!ē'etc</i> elk	<i>p!ǎ'alats!ʷ</i> skunk
<i>p!ôxō'?</i> } raven	<i>'ǎmaxʷidjō'?</i> ant
<i>p!ah</i> }	<i>qéix</i> salmon-egg
<i>tc!eqʷ</i> robin	<i>mô'os</i> head

For "robin," *tc!ǎq'tc!eq'*, which might well enough be expected as plural, was explicitly denied. If necessary to express plurality in these nouns, *qax* or *qax* "many" can be juxtaposed before any of them.

IV. REDUPLICATED DIMINUTIVES OF NOUNS.

Diminutives in Comox, as in other Salish languages, are formed by means of reduplication. Reduplicated diminutive forms, however, differ from reduplicated plurals in that the reduplicating syllable repeats the first consonant of the stem, never also the second. Moreover, the vowel of the reduplicating syllable is formed according to different rules from that of the reduplicating syllable of plural forms. Further complications result from the internal changes to which the stem is often subjected, so that altogether a large number of more or less distinct types of diminutive formations may be recognized. It will be advantageous to list in a purely analytical way the various features that are found in diminutives, so that ready reference may be made to them when discussing the types as such.

Diminutivizing characteristics are:—

- (1.) *Reduplication* of initial consonant of stem, followed by
 - a. *Short* ϵ (i or \bar{i}). Two types of ϵ -reduplication may be recognized, according to whether ϵ is or is not accented. Thus, $m\acute{m}\phi'os$ from $m\phi'os$ "head"; $q\epsilon q\acute{a}'ya$ from $q\acute{a}'ya$ "water."
 - b. *Long* $\bar{\epsilon}$ (\hat{i} or \bar{i}), always accented. Thus $L!\bar{i}L!Axw\bar{a}'i$ from $L!Axw\bar{a}'i$ "dog-salmon."
 - c. $\acute{\epsilon}$, always accented. Thus $q!\acute{\epsilon}'q!\bar{\epsilon}^eL!$ from $q!\acute{a}^eL!$ "land-otter."
 - d. $\check{\epsilon}$, which may or may not be accented. Thus, $l\phi l\check{k}\phi^om\acute{i}n$ from $l\phi k\phi^om\acute{i}n$ "bailer."
 - e. $\bar{\epsilon}$, which is regularly accented. Thus, $k!\phi k!\phi d\phi t!^e$ from $k!\phi^e d\phi t!^e$ "porpoise."
 - f. *Short* a , accented or not. Thus, $L\acute{a}L\bar{i}'\acute{i}m$ from $L\bar{i}'Am$ "cockle."
 - g. *Long* \bar{a} . Thus, $dj\acute{a}dj\acute{a}^g\bar{v}\acute{i}n$ from $dj\acute{g}\bar{v}\acute{i}n$ "song."
 - h. *Long* $\bar{a}a$. Thus, $s\acute{a}'as\bar{h}^u$ from $s\acute{a}h^u$ "woman."
 - i. *Short* ϕ . Thus, $L!\phi L!\acute{a}'am\hat{i}s$ from $L!Am\hat{s}$ "house."
- (2.) *Glottal stop inserted in stem*. This may occur as
 - a. Breaking of (non-final) vowel or diphthong. Thus, $tc\acute{i}tc\acute{a}'yac$ from $tc\acute{a}yac$ "hand."
 - b. Glottalizing of final consonant (generally m or n); this should probably include breaking of vowel when final. Thus, $l\phi l\phi^b\phi^m$ from $l\phi^b\phi^om$ "small clam."

- (3.) *Quantitative vocalic changes* (increments). These include
- Lengthening of (last) stem vowel.* Thus, *tâtig^uāx^u* from *tā'ag^uax^u* "fern."
 - Change to wā or wa of u of stem.* Thus, diminutive plural *kwîkumkwā'māqîn'* from plural *kumkûmāqîn'* "sea-lions."
 - Lengthening of inorganic A (or i, e) to î.* Thus, *xêxsîm'* from *xâsam* "box." Less often, full *a* is changed to *î* (cf. 4b), as in *kwêkwi'im'* from *kwâ'am* "coiled storage basket."
 - Insertion of î.* This is probably but another form of 3c, inorganic *A* and absence of vowel being perhaps considered as phonologically equivalent. Thus, *qêqâlî'q!* from *qâl'q!* "warrior."
 - Insertion of short vowel (A, i) before syllable with lengthened vowel.* Thus, *xêxig^uicîn'* (note second *i*) from *xâucîn'* "bone."
 - Lengthening of A or a (non-final) to ā.* Thus, *q!wāq!wā'a-djix* from *q!wâ'ix* "wood."
- (4.) *Qualitative vocalic changes.* These include
- Umlaut of a to short e (i).* Thus, *xêxâ'adjê'ic* from *xâ'adjaic* "stone."
 - Umlaut of a (or ā), rarely o, to long ē (î, î).* Thus, *q!ê'q!ê'k^u* from *q!ak^u* "board."
 - Change of stem vowel to ā'a.* Thus, *tôtâ'amic* from *tô'mic* "man."
- (5.) *Vocalic reduction.* Under this head may be grouped
- Shortening of stem vowel before syllable with lengthened vowel (or inserted î).* This shortening before lengthening is doubtless due to quantitative rhythm. Thus, *qwi'qwi'î* (note second *i*) from *qwt'qwi'* "sea-gull. Such shortened syllables regularly lose their glottal stop, if there is one present, as in *qêqawêm'* from *qâ'um'* "eye."
 - Syncope of stem vowel after reduplicating syllable with accented vowel.* Long vowels may thus fall out quite as readily as short ones. Thus, *sê'esp'xps* from *sâpâxps* "horn."

These twenty-two diminutivizing features occur in various combinations, so that a large number of possible types of

diminutive formation may result. A considerable number of such types can be constructed from the available material, but this need not exemplify all that actually occur. As to which of the features listed are fundamental to Salish and which merely secondary in Comox or several Coast Salish languages, it is useless to speculate. Adequate comparative data are necessary. A few points of a comparative nature will be brought forward at the end of the paper. The various diminutive types will now be taken up in order, the main stress being laid on the form of the reduplicating syllable.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cé.

Various sub-types occur, according to whether the stem vowels remain unmodified or are subjected to comparatively slight changes.

Sub-type I a. Diminutive feature la only:—

	diminutive <i>mímə'qs</i>
<i>mə'qs</i> head	<i>qəq'tā'abas</i>
<i>q'tā'abas</i> wooden ball	<i>q'wəq!qə'āda</i>
<i>q!qə'āda</i> ear	<i>'ə'awāk'u</i>
<i>'āwāk'u</i> tobacco	<i>qwəqwadî's</i>
<i>qwādi's</i> whale	<i>qwīqō'u'a'i</i>
<i>qō'u'a'i</i> hemlock	<i>sīsīdjāqō'p'</i>
<i>sidjāqō'p'</i> basket cap	<i>qəqeyix</i> (-eyi- prob-
<i>qəix</i> salmon-egg	ably merely variant of -ei-)

Sub-type I b. Diminutive features la, 3c (or d):—

<i>māqsn'</i> nose	<i>mīmāqsi'n'</i>
<i>djidis</i> tooth	<i>djidjidi's</i>
<i>tī'x'u</i> yellow cedar (<*tīyix'u)	<i>tītīyix'u</i>
<i>qāl'q!</i> warrior	<i>qəqāl'i'q!</i>

Sub-type I c. Diminutive features la, 3a, 5a:—

<i>həg'qs</i> chief	<i>həhəg'ō's</i>
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Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: feature 2a.

In these diminutives the first vowel of the stem is broken, the broken vowel taking the form *ẽ'v̄*. If the final vowel is long, it seems to be shortened (*-ã* becomes *-ʼa*).

<i>pĩ'k!</i> ground-hog	diminutive <i>pĩpĩ'ĩk!</i>
<i>q!ẽ'ẽtc</i> elk	<i>q!ẽq'!ẽ'ẽ'ẽtc</i>
<i>xá'ã</i> big clam	<i>xẽxã'ã'ʼa</i>

Though the last diminutive seems to correspond exactly in form and rhythm to the second, the final *-ã'ʼa* may perhaps here be better explained as breaking of the last vowel (*-ã*) of the stem (feature 2b).

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: features 3a or d, 5a, 2b.

<i>qã'um'</i> eye	<i>qẽqawêm''</i> (-ê- doubtless merely variant of -ĩ-)
<i>qwĩ'qwĩ'</i> sea-gull	<i>qwi'qwi'qwĩ''ĩ</i>

Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: features 4a, 3c, 2b.

<i>kwã'am</i> coiled storage basket	<i>kwẽkwĩ'im'</i>
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Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: feature 5b.

<i>L!ĩkuĩnãs</i> heart	<i>L!L!kuĩnãs</i>
<i>xãpã'ĩ</i> red cedar	<i>xẽxpã'ĩ</i>

Type VI. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: features 5b, 4b.

<i>qwãsam</i> woolly grouse	<i>qwẽq'ũsẽ'm-ql</i>
<i>pãxai'</i> creek	<i>pĩp'xẽ'ĩ</i>

Type VII. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; stem: features 5b, 3c, 2a.

<i>xãsam</i> box	<i>xẽxsĩm'</i>
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Type VIII. Reduplicating Syllable: ce.

In this type the reduplicating *e* is unaccented. According to whether or not the stem is modified in regard to vocalic length or quality, various sub-types may be recognized.

Sub-type VIII a. Diminutive feature 1a only:—

ts!ātci!ilbai spruce

diminutive *ts!its!āt*c*!ilbai*

qǎ'ya' water

qeqā'yā'

qɔ̌'ⁱqwai speaker

qwiqδ'uqwai

Here probably also belongs *qwi^eqwa^{at}!Alā^a'k'* "butterfly."

Sub-type VIII b. Diminutive features 1a, 5a (accent on third syllable of diminutive):—

sayá'ada neck

sɪsɪyɔ̃'ada (sa-shortened to sA-, which, coming before y, has to be palatalized to si-)

xā'aidatc stump

xexa'á.idatc (-a.i-
probably equiva-
lent to -āi-)

Sub-type VIII c. Diminutive features 1a, 3a (or c):—

sā'yat lake

sisā'yā!

má^atc'in' louse

mimã^atc!în'

Sub-type VIII d. Diminutive features 1a, 4 b:—

pók'u pók'u liver

p̄ipúk' u p̄ī'k' u

Type IX. Reduplicating Syllable: ce; stem: feature 2a.

Here again the reduplicating vowel is an unaccented *e*. The stem, however, is characterized by the breaking of one of its vowels. According to whether or not umlaut also takes place, two sub-types are to be recognized.

Sub-type IX a. Diminutive features 1a, 2a:—

tcāyac hand

tcitcã'ayac

Sub-type IX b. Diminutive features la, 2a, 4a:—

xá'adjaic stone diminutive *xəxá'adjé'ic*

As irregular representative of this type may perhaps be considered:—

qê'n'qen' duck *qeq4'ád-ôl* (built on
unreduplicated simplex)

Type X. Reduplicating Syllable: cê.

Various sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether or not the stem vowels are quantitatively modified.

Sub-type X a. Diminutive feature lb only:—

<i>tc!əl</i> rain	<i>tc!t̥tc!əl</i>
<i>p!ég^vāi</i> halibut	<i>p!t̥'p!ig^vāi</i>
<i>ts!oxô''^o</i> codfish	<i>ts!t̥'ts!oxô''^o</i>
<i>L!Axwā'ⁱ</i> dog-salmon	<i>L!t̥L!Axwā'ⁱ</i>
<i>xā^ap!</i> baby-basket	<i>xē^exā^ap!</i>
<i>p!óxō'^o</i> raven	<i>p!t̥'p!óxō'^o</i>
<i>y!p't̥'x^u</i> hole	<i>yēy!p!t̥'x^u</i>
<i>L!p!ts!ā'^a</i> yellow-cedar bark	<i>L!t̥'L!p!ts!ā'^a</i>
blanket	
<i>t̥t̥t̥t̥c̥i'c</i> little owl	<i>t̥t̥t̥t̥t̥c̥i'c</i>
<i>k^väck^väc</i> bluejay	<i>k^vt̥'k^väc</i>
<i>qóqowî'm'</i> small breast feathers	<i>qwî'equwî'm'</i>

In the last two examples the diminutive is formed, not from the already reduplicated simplex, but from the unreduplicated form abstracted from it.

Sub-type X b. Diminutive features lb, 3c:—

<i>L!pāt̥l̥</i> bag	<i>L!ē^eL!pāt̥l̥</i>
<i>tc!eq^z</i> robin	<i>tc!t̥'tc!ē^eq^z</i>
<i>kúmāqîn'</i> sea-lion	<i>kwi'kumāqîn'</i>
<i>djicîn'</i> foot	<i>dj̥t̥'djicîn'</i>
<i>l̥Aq!^u</i> bow	<i>t̥t̥'q!^u</i>

Sub-type X c. Diminutive features lb, 5a, 3c (or 3a):—

<i>q!wAt'ī'tcîn'</i> humpback salmon	<i>q!wēq!ut̥'ī'tcîn'</i>
<i>t!ā'abuxwāi</i> gooseberry bush	<i>t!t̥!Amuxwāi</i>
<i>p!ā'alats!^a</i> skunk	<i>p!ēp!A'lāts!</i> (mis- heard for <i>-p!Al-?</i>)

Sub-type X d. Diminutive features lb, 3e, 3c:—

<i>xāucin'</i> bone	diminutive <i>xēxig'icīn'</i> (-ig'ī- < *-AWA-)
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It should be noted that this type of diminutive formation, while externally similar to Type VIII of plural formation (cf., e.g., *xēxāp!* 'little basket' with *q!ē'q!āik'u* 'eagles'), is in reality quite distinct in origin, the latter, as we have seen, tracing its reduplicating -ē- to -Ay- and being limited to nouns with *i*-diphthongs.

Type XI. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; *stem:* feature 2b.

<i>mát!āi</i> horse clam	<i>mē'mAt!ā'i</i> (<i>mē'</i> - perhaps misheard for <i>mē-</i>)
<i>hāihei</i> (<i>hāihei'</i> ?) arrow	<i>hēheihei'i</i>
<i>q!ās'Adāi</i> buckskin shirt	<i>q!ē'q!as'adā'i</i>

Type XII. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; *stem:* 4b.

<i>q!ák'u</i> board	<i>q!ē'q!ē'k'u</i>
<i>aL</i> leggings	<i>ē'ēL</i>

Type XIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; *stem:* feature 5b.

There are two sub-types, according to whether or not the stem vowel is modified.

Sub-type XIII a. Diminutive features l b, 5 b:—

<i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak	<i>q!ē'q!p!xwai</i>
<i>p!ē'ixāi</i> alder	<i>p!i'p!xāi</i>
<i>L!ā^aq!wāi</i> fish-gill	<i>L!i'iL!q!wāi</i>
<i>kúp-ū^umī^ux^u</i> hill	<i>kwlk'^up-ī^t</i>
<i>lāq!wāinop'</i> cedar-bark mat	<i>lī'lq!wāinop'</i>
<i>t!ē'ibāi</i> wild-cherry bush	<i>t!i'tl!bāi</i>
<i>t!Aq't!Aqāi</i> dog-wood	<i>t!ēt!qāi</i>

In the last example the diminutive is built up on the unduplicated stem abstracted from the already reduplicated simplex. The broken stem vowels -ē'i- of "alder" and "wild-

cherry bush" disappear in the diminutive apparently without trace of ', but this may in part be due to following *q'* and *p'*, which imply '. With these contrast:—

sá'an' cohoe salmon diminutive *sís'ad-ōl*.

Here the *-a'a-* is treated, not as a broken vowel, but as two vowels with intervening consonant.

Sub-type XIII b. Diminutive features 1b, 5b, 3c:—

lÁq!As mountain-goat blanket

lí'l'q!ís

L!Áq!acin' moccasins

*L!é*L!q!acên'* (mis-
heard for *-ên'?*)

Type XIV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé*; *stem:* features 5a, 3c, 2b.

t!ég'em sun, moon

t!é't!ig'em'

-i- is for *-a-*, because of following *g^v*.

Type XV. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé*; *stem:* features 5b, 4a.

sAQ'Ák'u war-club

sí'sqek'u

Type XVI. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé'*.

qā'aqa' rush mat

qé'eqā'a

tót'x^ulał necklace

té't'x^ulał

The diminutive of "necklace," as often happens with nouns reduplicated to begin with, is built up on the implied unreduplicated stem. The same applies to the diminutive of "rush mat," except that here it is the reduplicating syllable of the simplex, which doubtless more nearly represents the simple stem, that is taken as the base of the diminutive form.

Type XVII. Reduplicating Syllable: *cé'*; *stem:* feature 4a or b.

Two sub-types are found, according to whether or not there are at the same time quantitative changes in the stem.

Sub-type XVII a. Diminutive features lc, 4b:—

<i>q!d^aL!</i> land-otter	diminutive <i>q!ê^eq!ê^eL!</i>
<i>q!d^asa'</i> sea-otter	<i>q!ê^eq!ê^es</i> (note loss of -a')

Sub-type XVII b. Diminutive features, lc, 5a, 4a (or b):—

<i>qê^ew^Ax</i> steel-head salmon	<i>qê^eqeg^ex</i>
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-g^u- is from original -w-. It is not clear whether -qeg^ex represents *-qewê^ex or *-qewêx.

Type XVIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cé; *stem:* features 3c, 2b.

<i>q!wát'Am</i> river	<i>q!wé^eq!wat'îm'</i> (<i>q!wé^e</i> not equivalent to <i>q!wê^e-</i> ; see diminutive plural type iv)
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Type XIX. Reduplicating Syllable: cê'; *stem:* feature 5b.

There are two sub-types, the latter with modified stem vowel.

Sub-type XIX a. Diminutive features lc, 5b:—

<i>sâpâxos</i> horn	<i>sê^esp'xos</i>
<i>héq'sâ^amin'</i> pole for poling canoe	<i>hê^ehq'sâ^amin'</i>

Sub-type XIX b. Diminutive features lc, 5b, 3c:—

<i>!Akqm'</i> beaver (-kq- doubt-less for -kwA-)	<i>!ê^eet!kwîm'</i>
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Type XX. Reduplicating Syllable: cǎ.

Here again there are two sub-types, the latter with vocalic reduction.

Sub-type XX a. Diminutive feature ld:—

<i>xâug^uas</i> grizzly bear	<i>xâxâug^uas</i>
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Here probably belongs also *xwâxadjō'm'* "fly."

Sub-type XX b. Diminutive features ld, 5a, 3c or d:—

<i>lâ^aq^uêt!^a</i> herring	<i>lâtig^uêt!^a</i> (-i- < -A-)
<i>lâidatctAn</i> woman's cedar-bark skirt	<i>lâtîdatctîn</i> (-î- < -Ai-)
<i>!ô'mî'</i> paddle	<i>!ô!Abî'î'</i>

Type XXI. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; stem: feature 5b.

There are three sub-types, based on differences in the further treatment of the stem.

Sub-type XXI a. Diminutive features 1d, 5b:—

*yǎxai'*ⁱ pack-basket diminutive *yá.íxai'*ⁱ

Sub-type XXI b. Diminutive features 1d, 5b, 3a:—

*waxǎ'ts!*ⁱ pipe *wauxǎ'ts!*ⁱ

Sub-type XXI c. Diminutive features 1d, 5a, 5b:—

lǎkǎ'mǎn bailer *lǎlkǎ'mǎn*

Type XXII. Reduplicating Syllable cǃ; stem: features 3a or c, and 2b.

There are two sub-types, depending on whether or not the first vowel of the stem is reduced.

Sub-type XXII a. Diminutive features 1d, 3c, 2b:—

*sǎts!*_{Am} tyee salmon *sas'ǎ'ts!*ⁱ_{m'}

Sub-type XXII b. Diminutive features 1d, 5a, 3a, 2b:—

sá'ǎdjǎ' leaf *sasǎdjǎ'*^a (-ǎ- reduced from -ǎ'ǎ-)

Type XXIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; stem: features 5a, 3a or c.

k!ǎdǎt!^ǎ porpoise

mǎyǎs raccoon

tǎ'agǎx' fern

tǎ'agǎ'in salmon-spear

gǎǎ'dǎ'm slave

k!ǎk!ǎdǎt!^ǎ

mǎmǎyǎs (-ǎ- palatalized from -ǎ-, reduced from -ǎ-)

tǎtigǎx' (-ǎ- palatalized from -ǎ-, reduced from -ǎ'ǎ-)

tǎtigǎ'in (dit.)

gǎǎgǎidi'm (-ǎ- palatalized from -ǎ-, reduced from -ǎ-)

lã^ada^k'^u skin
ãsɣ^u hair-seal
ts!ãmuɣl cloud

diminutive *lãlĩdã^ak'^u* (dit.)
'ã'asĩɣ^u
ts!ãts!ĩmaɣwĩl (-i-
 palatalized from -A-,
 reduced from -ã-;
 -mA- merely vari-
 ant of -mu-)

õlqai'ⁱ snake
'ãmax^uĩdjõ'^o ant

'õ'õlqai'ⁱ
'ã'ãmax^uĩdjõ'^o

In the last two examples the final vowel is considered quantitatively long and hence cannot be further lengthened. Quite irregular is:—

tãyac killer-whale

tãtĩyac

The long -ĩ- and the short -ã- of the stem are the exact reverse of what would be expected (**tãtĩyãc*, cf. *tãtig^uãɣ^u* above).

Type XXIV. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; *stem:* features 5a, 4b.

tc!atc!ãt!lãn'^u mouse

tc!ãtc!ĩt!ĩn'^u (-i- pal-
 atalized form of -A-,
 reduced from -ã^a-)

The diminutive, as often, is based on the unreduplicated stem abstracted from the already reduplicated simplex.

Type XXV. Reduplicating Syllable: cǃ; *stem:* features 5a, 2b

Two sub-types are to be recognized, depending on the treatment of the last vowel of the stem.

Sub-type XXV a. Diminutive features 1a, 5a, 2b:—

lõ''õbõm' small clam

lõlõbõ'm'

k!õyõkõbĩ'n fisherman

k!õk!õyõkõbĩ'n'

Sub-type XXV b. Diminutive features 1e, 5a, 3a, 2b:—

xã^a'wa fur seal

xãxãwã'^a

sã^a'ba' mussel

sãsãbã'^a

tc!ẽ'ãdõ dog

tc!ẽ'ãtc!ĩdõ'^o (-i- pala-
 talized from -A-, re-
 duced from -ẽ'ã-)

In the last example -ẽ'ã is treated as a reduplicating long vowel.

Type XXVI. Reduplicating Syllable: cċ; stem: feature 5b.

Three sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether the stem undergoes no further change or is further modified.

Sub-type XXVI a. Diminutive features 1e, 5b:—

<i>sōsċn'</i> mouth	diminutive <i>sōssċn'</i>
<i>p!āq!Adātc</i> goose	<i>p!āp!q!Adātc</i>
<i>tġ'hā'dān'</i> chief's wife	<i>tġ'hā'dān'</i>
<i>sōpAdatc</i> tail	<i>sō^uspAdatc</i>
<i>xwāxsabāi</i> soapberry bush	<i>xwāx^usabāi</i>
<i>tġ^usal</i> tongue	<i>tġ^usal</i>
<i>ōsā'i</i> huckleberry bush	<i>'ō^uAsā'i</i> (-'ōs- cannot be further reduced than -'As-)
<i>mġ^uxāl</i> bear	<i>mġ^umExāl</i> (-E- is mere- ly glide)
<i>sġp!Amġn'</i> shinny stick	<i>sġ^usp!Amġ^un'</i>
<i>mġtāli</i> beaver-tooth die	<i>mġ^um(ġ)tāli</i> (-ġ- is merely glide)
<i>k^u!ġ^uk^uāyu</i> oar	<i>k^u!ġ^u!k^u!k^uāyu</i>
<i>sġ^uqet'</i> dug hole, well	<i>sġ^u!qet'</i>

"Bear," "shinny stick," "beaver-tooth die," and "oar," which have short stem-vowels, are perhaps better listed with type X.

Sub-type XXVI b. Diminutive features 1e, 5b, 3c:—

<i>kō^usAd'</i> star	<i>kōk'sġd'</i>
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Sub-type XXVI c. Diminutive features 1e, 5b, 5a, 3a:—

<i>t!ē'^udē^uqwai</i> salmon-berry bush	<i>t!ēt!dġqwāi</i>
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Type XXVII. Reduplicating Syllable: cċ; stem: features 5 b, 4 b.

<i>t!ā^uq!at'</i> mountain	<i>t!āt!q!ē^ut'</i>
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Type XXVIII. Reduplicating Syllable: cċ; stem: features 5b (or a), 3a, 2a.

<i>tā^uq!wa'</i> devil-fish	<i>tāt^uq!wā'^a</i>
<i>dġā^udġa'</i> tree	<i>dġādġidġā'^a</i> (-i- pal- atalized from -A-, reduced from -ā' ^a -)

Type XXIX. Reduplicating Syllable: ca.

Two sub-types have been found illustrated, each represented by but one example in the material obtained.

Sub-type XXIX a. Diminutive features 1f, 3c, 2b:—

Ll̥i'Am' cockle diminutive *LáLī'i'm'*

Sub-type XXIX b. Diminutive features 1f, 3b, 2a:—

kwúdjāk^u trout *kwakwá^adjāk^u*

Type XXX. Reduplicating Syllable: cā; stem: feature 3f.

Two sub-types may be recognized, the second with further modification of the stem.

Sub-type XXX a. Diminutive features 1g, 3f:—

q!wax'ix wood
q!wāq!wā'adjix (-dj-
 <*-y-, glide be-
 tween -ā'- and -i-).

Sub-type XXX b. Diminutive features 1g, 3f, 3c:—

dʒiŋʷin 'song' (< **dʒAWAn*')

Type XXXI. Reduplicating Syllable: cṽ'ṽ; stem: feature 5b.

sätt'u woman

L!á'at'ō'm' wolf

sǎ'astt'u girl

$L! \tilde{a}' a_L! t' \bar{o}' m'$

Type XXXII. Reduplicating Syllable: co; stem: feature 4c.

Two sub-types, each represented by one example, are found, the second involving a further change of stem.

Sub-type XXXII a. Diminutive features li (perhaps rather 1
d), 4c:—

tō'mic man

totă'amic boy

Sub-type XXXII b. Diminutive features 1i, 4c, 3d:—

L!ams house

L!oL!â'amî's

Diminutive in -ōt, -ot.

Besides forming diminutives by means of reduplication and internal stem change, Comox can also make diminutives of animal nouns by means of a suffix $-\bar{o}l(t^u)$ or $-\phi l(t^u)$. Some of the diminutives in $-\bar{o}l(t^u)$ or $-\phi l(t^u)$ are nouns whose simplex is

already reduplicated (cf. reduplicated nouns which form no reduplicated plural), yet not all. Of those formed from unre-duplicated nouns, some have diminutive reduplication at the same time, others not. By an interesting phonetic law of rhythmic balance $-ōl(t^u)$ is suffixed to stems whose last vowel is short, $-ol(t^u)$ to those whose last vowel is long. The examples obtained of the suffix are:—

1. $-ōl(t^u)$ *hēw^Aqen'* swan*mî^emau* cat*q!âik^u* eagle*qé'n'qen'* duck*ts!îtsq!é^enas* chicken hawk*tc!eq^x* robin*sá'an'* coho salmon*xōp'xōp'* humming bird*g^uî'g^uî'* pantherdiminutive *hēw^aqAdōl**mî^emin'ōl*{ *q!âikōl*{ *q!eq!Auq!âikōl*

little eagles

*qeqA'ádōl**ts!îtsq!é^enasōl^u**tc!îtc!eq^xtc!éqōl^u* little

robins

{ *sîs'adōl*{ *sîsqsq'ádōl* plur.*xōp'xōpōl^u**g^uî'g^uîyūl*

The last two seem irregular as regards rhythmic balance; perhaps they were respectively misheard for $*xōp'xōpōl^u$ and $*g^uî'g^uîyūl$. $-ōl$ has also been found in *mîm'inr'ōl k' u māmstcō'm* "little mink."

2. $-ol(t^u)$ *hō'mhō'm* blue grouse*qwāqumî's* marten*qwāsam* woolly grouse*ts!î'x^uts!îx^u* fish-hawk*kwa'kwā^adjō'* grey-squirrel*hō'mhō'mol**qwāqumî'sol^u**qwéq^usē^emol**ts!î'x^uts!îxwōl**kwa'kwā^adjōl*

V. DOUBLY REDUPLICATED DIMINUTIVE PLURALS OF NOUNS.

The plurals of diminutives are, as a rule, doubly reduplicated, the first reduplicating syllable expressing the diminutive idea, the second that of plurality; the first reduplicating syllable is almost invariably of diminutive type, the second of plural type. Hence diminutive plurals are morphologically, and psychologically, diminutivized plurals, not pluralized diminutives. While they may be said, on the whole, to be formed from the plural of the simplex, the diminutive singular has often influence on the form of the diminutive plural, both as regards the inner stem changes and the vowel of the reduplicating syllable. Thus diminutive plurals may be said to combine, roughly speaking, the characteristics of both the plural and diminutive of the simplex. In order better to understand the formation of the diminutive plural and to assist in cross-referencing, the types to which the non-diminutive plural and the diminutive singular belong will be indicated in the following lists.

Type I. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; followed by plural of simplex.

The reduplicating syllable is analogous to that of diminutive types X, XI, XII, XIII, XIV, and XV. According to whether or not the remaining part of the word is somewhat modified from the plural of the simplex, sub-types may be recognized.

Sub-type I a. Plural of simplex unchanged:—

<i>L!ikuin</i> _{AS} heart	plur. I.	dim. v.	dim. plur. <i>L!i' L!Ek'-</i> <i>L!ikuin</i> _{AS}
<i>ts!oxó''^o</i> codfish	dit.	x a	<i>ts!its!oxts!óxó''^o</i>
<i>L!Axwā''ⁱ</i> dog-salmon	dit.	dit.	<i>L!i' L!axL!Axwā''ⁱ</i>
<i>L!pî'ts!ā''^a</i> yellow cedar			
bark basket	dit.	dit.	<i>L!i' L!Ap' L!Apîts!ā''^a</i>
<i>tc!éq^z</i> robin	no plur.	x b.	
	(type I implied in dim. plur.)		<i>tc!îtc!eq^ztc!éqôlt''^u</i>
<i>aL</i> leggings	I. (or VI.)	XII.	<i>ê' aL' aL</i>
<i>kúpá''mî''^z</i> hill	dit.	XIII a.	<i>kwîkup' kúp-î't'</i> (with -î't' as in diminutive singular)

<i>sá'ídjA'</i> leaf	plur. VIII.	dim. XXII b.	dim. plur. <i>sīsīsá'ídjA'</i>
<i>djá'°dja'</i> tree	irregular	XXVIII.	<i>djēdjīdjā'°dja'</i> (built on plur. of type VIII)
<i>y'p'°i'x'</i> hole	IX.	X a.	<i>yēy'p'y'p'°i'x'</i> (built on plur. of type I)

Sub-type I b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 3a, c, or d :—

<i>djīdis</i> tooth	I.	I b.	<i>djīdjīddjīdī's</i>
<i>L!pātīl</i> bag	dit.	X b.	<i>L!īL!Ap°L!Apātīl</i>
<i>djīcin'</i> foot	dit.	dit.	<i>djīdjīsdjīcin'</i>
<i>lAq!As</i> mountain- goat blanket	dit.	XIII b.	<i>līlAq!lAq!īs</i>
<i>L!Aq!acin'</i> mocca- sin	dit.	dit.	<i>L!ēL!Aq!L!Aq!acin'</i> (-īn' misheard for -in' ?)
<i>t!Akōm'</i> beaver	I.	XIX b.	<i>t!īt!Ak'°t!Akwīm'</i>
<i>t!ōmt'</i> paddle	II a.	XX b.	<i>t!īt!Amt!ō°bīi'</i>
<i>waxā°ts!i</i> pipe	dit.	XXI b.	<i>wīwāxwaxā°ts!ī</i>
<i>tā°q!wa'</i> devil-fish	dit.	XXVIII.	<i>tīlA'q'tā°q!wā'</i> (-°q' misheard for -q! ?)
<i>djīg'in'</i> song	III b.	XXX b.	<i>djīdjīūdājīg'in'</i>

Sub-type I c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 5a:—

<i>lōkō°mīn</i> bailer	V.	XXI c.	<i>līlūk'lōkō°mīn</i>
<i>tī'hā°dān'</i> chief's wife	VI.	XXVI a.	<i>tītāhtihā°dān'</i>

Sub-type I d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 2b:—

<i>lō'°bōm'</i> small clam	II b.	XXV a.	<i>līlīmō'°bō'm'</i>
<i>k!ōyōkōbī'n</i> fisher- man	VIII.	dit.	<i>k!wīk!wīk!ōyōkō- bī'n'</i>

Sub-type I e. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4b:—

t!ā'q!at' mountain plur. II a. dim. XXVIII.
dim. plur. *t!ēt!AQ!t!ā'q!ē't'*

Sub-type I f. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 3b, 2a, 3c:—

kúmāqin' sea-lion I. X b. *kwāikumkwā'māqîn'*

A couple of aberrant diminutive plurals with *cē-* are given under type II f.

Type II. Reduplicating Syllable: cē; followed by plural of simplex.

The reduplicating syllable is analogous to that of diminutive types I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX. Sub-types are to be recognized here as in type I.

Sub-type II a. Plural of simplex unchanged:—

<i>qwAdî's</i> hump-			
backed whale	I.	I a.	<i>qwēqwAd' qwAdî's</i>
<i>qō'u'a'î</i> hemlock	dit.	dit.	<i>qwiqōqō'u'a'î</i>
<i>'āwāk'u</i> tobacco	dit.	dit.	<i>'ē'Aw'āwāk'u</i>
<i>xApā'î</i> red cedar	dit.	V.	<i>xēxAp'xApā'î</i>
<i>q!áp!xwai</i> oak	dit.	XIII a.	<i>q!ēq!Ap!q!áp!xwai</i>
<i>q'tā'abas</i> wooden ball			
used in game	II a.	I a.	<i>qēqAt'q'tā'abas</i>
<i>qē'n'qen'</i> duck	dit.	IX b.	<i>qēqAd'qēn'</i> (based on unreduplicated simplex)
<i>qā'aqa'</i> rush mat	dit.	XVI.	<i>qēqAq'qā'aqa'</i>
<i>tōt'x'ulal</i> necklace	dit.	XVI.	<i>tītAx'tōt'x'ulal</i> (reduplicating syllable for plurality based on unreduplicated form of simplex)

<i>q!ā^aL!</i> land-otter plur.	II a. dim.	XVII a. dim.	plur. <i>q!ēq!AL!q!ā^aL!</i>
<i>q!ā^asa'</i> sea-otter	dit.	dit.	<i>q!ēq!Asq!ā^as</i> (with loss of -a', as in dim. sing.)
<i>xā^a'wa</i> fur seal	dit.	XXV b.	<i>xēxauxā^a'wa</i>
<i>sā^a'ba'</i> mussel	dit.	dit.	<i>sīsamsā^a'ba'</i>
<i>xwāsAbāi</i> soapberry			
bush	dit.	XXVI a.	<i>xwēxwAsxwāsAbāi</i>
<i>p!āq!Adātc</i> goose	dit.	dit.	<i>p!ēp!Aq!p!ā^aq!Adātc</i>
<i>L!ā'at'ō'm'</i> wolf	dit.	XXXI.	<i>L!ēL!AlL!ā'at'ō'm'</i>
<i>ts!ātcl!lbai</i> spruce	II b.	VIII a.	<i>ts!its!itc!ts!ātcl!lbai</i>
<i>k^uāck^uāc</i> bluejay	dit.	X a.	<i>k^uāck^uāc</i> (based on unreduplicated form of simplex)
<i>sāpāxos</i> horn	dit.	XIX a.	<i>sīsīpsāpāxos</i>
<i>tā'ag^uax^u</i> fern	III a.	XXIII.	<i>tītītā'ag^uax^u</i>
<i>hēg^uos</i> chief	III b.	I c.	<i>hēhō^uhē^ug^uos</i>
<i>xāug^uas</i> grizzly bear	V.	XX a.	<i>xēxauxāug^uas</i>
<i>hēq'sā^amin'</i> pole for poling canoe	VI.	XIX a.	<i>hēhāq'hēq'sā^amin'</i>
<i>q!ōa'āda</i> ear	VII.	I a.	<i>q!wēq!q!q!ōa'āda</i>
<i>sidjāqō'p'</i> basket			
hat	VIII.	I a.	<i>sīsīsidjāqō'p'</i>
<i>tāyac</i> killer whale	XI	XXIII	<i>tītītā^ayac</i>

(plur. of type VIII implied in dim. plur.)

Sub-type II b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 3c or d:—

<i>qAl'q!</i> warrior	I.	I b.	<i>qēqAlqAlē^eq!</i>
<i>lAq!^u</i> bow	dit.	X b.	<i>līlAq!^ulē^eq!^u</i>
<i>q!wAt'itcin'</i> hump-back salmon	dit.	X c.	<i>q!wēq!wAt'q!wAt'itcin'</i>
<i>xāucin'</i> bone	dit.	X d.	<i>xēxauxāucin'</i>
<i>mā^atc!in'</i> louse	II a.	VIII c.	<i>mīmā^atc!mā^atc!in'</i>
<i>ās^x</i> hair seal	dit.	XXIII.	<i>'ē'As'ās^x</i>
<i>tā'ag^uin</i> salmon spear	III a.	dit.	<i>tītītā'ag^uin</i>

Sub-type II c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 3a or c, and 2b:—

	plur. I.	dim. VII.	dim. plur.
<i>xásam</i> box			<i>xəxásxásim'</i>
<i>qwásam</i> woolly grouse	dit.	VI.	<i>qwequsqúsím'</i> (-qus- probably merely variant of -qwas-)
<i>q!ás'adāi</i> buckskin shirt	dit.	XI.	<i>q!eq!Asq!ás'adā'i</i>
<i>lāi'Am'</i> cockle	dit. (or VIII.)	XXIX a.	<i>lāli'lāi'im'</i> (with irregular lengthen- ing of -ī ⁱ = -āi- to -āi-)
<i>hēw^Aqēn'</i> swan	II a.	-ōl	<i>hēhAu hēw^aqēn'</i>
<i>mát!āi</i> horse clam	dit.	XI.	<i>mēmAt!mā^a!ā'i</i>
<i>qā'um'</i> eye	V.	III.	<i>qeqqā'ōm'</i> (-qə- heard for -qau-, or perhaps for -qau- reduced from-qau- —see type III)

Sub-type II d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4a or b:—

<i>páxai'</i> creek	I.	VI.	<i>pīpāxpa xē'i</i>
<i>q!ák'u</i> board	dit.	XII.	<i>q!eq!ak'u q!ē'k'u</i>
<i>sAQ'ák'u</i> war-club	dit.	XV.	<i>sīsAQ'sAQek'u</i>

Sub-type II e. Reduplicating syllable of plural of simplex changed to *cau*:-—

<i>xá'ā</i> big clam	I.	II.	<i>xəxau xā'A</i> (note change of <i>xa'ā</i> - to -xā'a, perhaps due to rhythmic anal- ogy of dim. sing. . <i>xēxA'ā'A</i>)
<i>q!āik'u</i> eagle	VIII.	-ōl	<i>q!eq!Au q!āik-ōl</i>

These strange diminutive plurals can hardly be explained otherwise than as formed by analogy of such diminutive plurals as *xəxəuxā'wa* "little fur seals," *xəxəuxāugʷas* "little bears," and *xəxəuxaucin* "little bones," where *-xəu-* (*-xau-*) is etymologically justified. The parallelism of *xā'ā* "big clam" and *xā'wa* "fur seal" seems particularly plausible.

Sub-type II f. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 4c (for convenience of comparison one form with *cē* is included):—

<i>t!ē'ibāi</i> wild cherry	plur. I (or VIII).	dim. XIII a.	dim. plur.
bush			<i>t!ēt!amt!ā'abāi</i> (really belongs to type I; based on reduplicated plural of type II)
<i>qé'w⁴x</i> steel-head	II.	XVII b.	
salmon			<i>qeqəuqā'agʷē^ex</i> (<i>-gʷē^ex</i> as in dim. sing.)
<i>tī'x^u</i> yellow cedar	VIII.	I b.	<i>tītōtā'ayīx^u</i> (<i>tī'x^u</i> > <i>*tīyīx^u</i> , <i>tī-</i> being modified to <i>tā'a-</i> ; <i>-tō-</i> , cf. type II e, is peculiar and is probably due to analogy of <i>tītōtā'-agʷax^u</i> "little ferns")

Another diminutive plural with erratic *-ō-* vowel (in both reduplicating syllable for plurality and stem) belonging to type I, is:—

<i>sā'an</i> cohoe sal-	I.	XIII a.	<i>sīsōsō'ád-ōl</i>
mon			

The material at hand does not permit to see what analogies have operated here.

Type III. Reduplicating Syllable: ce; reduplicating vowel of plural of simplex shortened.

A new feature is here introduced, the shortening of the long reduplicating vowel characteristic of the plural. Sub-types are here also to be recognized.

<i>Sub-type III a. Plural of simplex not otherwise modified:—</i>			
<i>xōp'xōp'</i> humming bird	plur. i.	dim. -ōt' ^u	dim. plur. <i>xwexōp'xōp'</i> (based on unreduplicated simplex)
<i>lā'g'vêt!^a</i> herring	III b.	xx b.	<i>l̥l̥l̥l̥ā'g'vêt!^a</i>
<i>lā'dak'^u</i> skin	III b.	xxiii.	<i>l̥l̥l̥l̥ā'dak'^u</i>
<i>qā'ya'</i> water	viii.	viii a.	<i>qeqeqā'ya'</i>
<i>xā'a.idatc</i> stump	i.	viii b.	<i>xexexā'idatc</i>
	(type VIII implied in dim. plur.)		
<i>sā'yal</i> lake	viii.	viii c.	<i>s̥s̥s̥s̥ā'yal</i>
<i>lā'idatctan</i> woman's cedar-bark skirt	dit.	xx b.	<i>l̥l̥l̥l̥ā'idatctan</i>

Sub-type III b. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive feature 2a:—

<i>tcāyac</i> hand	viii.	ix a.	<i>tc̥tc̥tc̥cā'yac</i>
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Sub-type III c. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 2a, and 3b or f:—

<i>sayā'ada</i> neck	viii.	viii b.	<i>s̥s̥s̥s̥ā'yā'ada</i>
<i>kwūdjak'^u</i> trout	dit.	xxix b.	<i>kw̥kw̥kw̥kw̥ūdjak'^u</i>

Sub-type III d. Plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 4a and 2a:—

<i>xā'adjaic</i> stone	viii.	ix b.	<i>xexexā'adje'ic</i>
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Type IV. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; followed by simplex.

It seems that a reduplicating syllable with ê tends to be considered the morphological equivalent of double reduplication (see plural type X, diminutive type XVI), in this case of combined diminutive and plural reduplication. Various sub-types are to be recognized, according to whether the reduplicating syllable is followed by the unmodified (or modified) simplex, the modified form characteristic of the diminutive, or by a form still further modified.

Sub-type IV a. Simplex unchanged:—

<i>p!ê'ixāi</i> alder	plur. I. (or VIII).	dim. XIII a.	dim. plur. <i>p!êp!ê'ixāi</i>
<i>L!Ams</i> house	dit.	xxxii b.	<i>L!ê'°L!Ams</i>
<i>mô'qs</i> hand	no plur.	I a.	<i>mê'mô'qs</i> (may also be considered as belonging to type iv b)

Sub-type IV b. Simplex modified by diminutive feature 5a:—

<i>tc!ê'ādō</i> dog	II b.	xxvb.	<i>tc!ê'tc!in'ām'</i> (irregular in that -ō of stem is dropped; with -ām' cf. perhaps -ā'm of <i>djādjiā'm</i> 'trees')
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Sub-type IV c. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê:—

<i>xwāxwadjō'm'</i> fly (dim. in form)			<i>xwê'°xwadjō'm'</i>
<i>qwi'qwā't!Alā'k'</i> butterfly (dim. in form)			<i>qwê'qwā't!Alā'k'</i>
<i>māgsin'</i> nose	I.	I b.	<i>mê'māgsi'in</i>
<i>kwá'am</i> coiled storage basket	dit./	IV.	<i>kwê'°kwi'im'</i>
<i>q!wát'am</i> river	dit.	xviii.	<i>q!wê'°q!wat'im'</i>
<i>tîx'sal</i> tongue	II b.	xxvi a.	<i>tê'tîx'sal</i>

Sub-type IV d. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê; stem further modified by diminutive features 5a and 3c:—

q!wA'ix wood plur. I. dim. xxxa. dim. plur.
 q!wê'eq!wadjîx

Sub-type IV e. Reduplicating vowel of diminutive changed to ê; stem further modified by diminutive feature 5b:—

sâts!Am tyee sal- II a. XXII a.
 sê'ests!i'm'
 mon

Type V. Reduplicating Syllable: cê; followed by plural of simplex modified by diminutive features 5a and 3a:—

t!ê'e'dêqwai salmon- plur. II a. dim. xxvi c. dim. plur.
 berry bush *t!ê't!Ant!An'qwâi*
 (-ê- is lost, cf.
 diminutive feature
 5 b)

sôsîn' mouth II b. XXVI a. *sê'sqossîn'*

VI. MISCELLANEOUS LINGUISTIC MATERIAL.

NUMERALS.

1. <i>pâ'a</i>	11. <i>ôp'ân haik'w pâ'a</i>	
2. <i>sâ'a</i>	20. <i>sîmcyâ'a</i>	200. <i>sâ'mîtc</i>
3. <i>tcâlas</i>	30. <i>tcanaux'cyâ'a</i>	300. <i>tcâ'adagvîtc</i>
4. <i>môs</i>	40. <i>môsalcya'a</i>	400. <i>môsâ'agvîtc</i>
5. <i>sîyâtci's</i>	50. <i>sêyats!alcyâ'a</i>	500. <i>sêatsâ'agvîtc</i>
6. <i>t!âxam</i> (or- <i>ab</i>)	60. <i>t!âxamalcya'a</i>	600. <i>t!âxamâ'agvîtc</i>
7. <i>ts!ô'w'atci's</i>	70. <i>ts!ô'tci'alcyâ'a</i>	700. <i>ts!ô'tci'sâ'agvîtc</i>
8. <i>tâ'atci's</i>	80. <i>tâ'atci'salcya'a</i>	800. <i>tâ'atci'sâ'agvîtc</i>
9. <i>tigvî'w'x</i>	90. <i>tigvî'xwalcyâ'a</i>	900. <i>tigvî'xwâ'agvîtc</i>
10. <i>ôp'ân</i>	100. <i>t'sâ'vîtc</i>	1000. <i>t'sâ'agvîtc</i>

2000 is *sâba t'sâ'agvîtc* or *sâ'a t'sâ'agvîtc*.

Numerals with classifying suffixes, referring to class of objects counted, are:—

	People	Canoes	Fathoms	Houses	Dollars
1.	<i>pí'pā'a</i>	<i>natc!d^og^uvil</i>	<i>natc!d^ux^utāl</i>	<i>natc!āxwautx^u</i>	<i>pāq'qs</i>
2.	<i>sí'sā'a</i>	<i>sābag^uvil</i>	<i>sāmtāl</i>	<i>sā'abautx^u</i>	<i>sāq'qs</i>
3.	<i>tcālayi</i>	<i>tcāddā^og^uvil</i>	<i>tcāddā^ux^utāl</i>	<i>tcā'dautx^u</i>	<i>tcālasqs</i>
4.	<i>mōsāyi</i>	<i>mōsāul</i>	<i>mōsāltāl</i>	<i>mōsautx^u</i>	<i>mōsqs</i>
5.	<i>sēyatsāyi</i>	<i>sēyatsā^og^uvil</i>	<i>sēyatsāltāl</i>	<i>sēyatsautx^u</i>	<i>sēyatsqs</i>
6.	<i>!āzamāyi</i>	<i>!āzamā^og^uvil</i>			
7.	<i>ts!ōtcisāyi</i>				
8.	<i>ta'ātcisāyi</i>				
9.	<i>tigv!xwāyi</i>				
10.	<i>ōpānāyi</i>				

The series for “dollars” refers, properly speaking, to round objects, including such objects as heads and turnips.

BODY-PART SUFFIXES. Examples of body-part “substantivals,” as they have been termed by Boas, which occur only in composition (better perhaps derivation), are:—

head: *pāq'ē^oq^uwan'* white-headed

tcix'ē^oq^uwan' red-headed

(or *-ad'*)

hand: *pāq'ō'^udja'* white-handed

tcixō'^udja' red-handed

eye: *pāq'āqs'* white-eyed

pāq'paq'āqs white-eyed (plur.; refers to several persons
or to two eyes of one person)

tcixāqs red-eyed

tcixtcixāqs red-eyed (plur.)

nose: *ts!āts!ē^omiq'^u* red-nosed

pāq'ē'^oq'^u white-nosed

!āt'ts!ā'^omiq'^u nose bleeds

foot: *pāq'cin'* white-footed

pāq'paq'cin' white-footed (plur.)

With these contrast independent use of “ear” in *pāq'paq'q!qa'āda* “white ears.”

POSSESSIVE AND SUBJECTIVE PRONOUNS. Only very fragmentary data were secured on Comox pronouns. I do not consider them as particularly reliable.

tatsi mō'qs my head

tan mō'qs your head

ta mō'qss his head (visible)

ku mō'qss his head (invisible)

tamsi mō'qs our heads

ta mō'qsap' your
(plur.) heads (visible)

ku mō'qsap' your
(plur.) heads (invisible)

ta and *ku* are articles implying visibility and invisibility respectively. Possessive pronouns modifying verb subjects are:—

'ā *tsi mō'qs* my head is sore ('ā to be sore)

'ā' *tan mō'qs* your head is sore

'ā' *ta mō'qss* his head is sore

'ā *ta mō'qss ta sāl't'u* the woman has headache (literally, sore the her-head the woman)

Possessive pronouns modifying verb objects are:—

tc'k!úda wad tsi mō'qs I see my head

tc'k!údaɣwad das mō'qs I see your head

tc'k!údaɣwad da mō'qss I see his head

tc'k!údaɣwad das tcī'tcāyac I see your hands

tc'k!údaɣwad da tcī'tcāyacs I see his hands

Subjective pronominal suffixes are:—

tītc tō'mic I am a big man (*tī* big)

tī'atc'u tō'mic you are a big man

tī'a tō'mic he is a big man

tī'adjan sāl't'u I am a big woman

tī'adjaux'u sāl't'u you are a big woman

VII. COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SALISH NOUN REDUPLICATION.

This is not the place to enter into anything like a systematic comparative treatment of Salish reduplication, the more so as the phonetics of most of the material available for comparison are not such as to allow one to make definitive classifications of plural and diminutive types (this remark applies particularly to vocalic quantity and glottal stops, both of which, as we have seen, are important for our present purpose). Certain facts of a comparative nature, however, come out quite clearly and may be briefly noted here.

PLURAL REDUPLICATION. It is evident that all Salish languages make use, like Comox, of different types of plural reduplication. Both types I and II are plentifully illustrated and are without doubt the fundamental Salish processes. Examples of type I are:—

Bella Coola	<i>s-tn</i> tree	plur. <i>s-tntn</i> ¹ (<i>s-</i> , as often in Salish, is prefix)
Tsil'qéuk (Cowichan group)	<i>s-kwomái</i> dog	<i>s-kwomkwomái</i> ²
Shuswap	<i>sk'áqa</i> dog	<i>s-k'agk'áqa</i> ³
	<i>nógonuq</i> woman	<i>nognógonuq</i> ³
Okanagan	<i>s-k'elteméq</i> man	<i>s-k'elk'elteméq</i> ⁴
Thompson River	<i>s-k'um</i>	<i>s-k'umk'um</i> ⁵
mountain	<i>s-núkoa</i> friend	<i>s-nukenúkoa</i> ⁵
	<i>s-kóum</i> crumpled	<i>s-kóumkóum</i> ⁵

Examples of type II are:—

Nanaimo	<i>s-pál</i> raven	<i>s-pelpá'l</i> ⁶
	<i>s-tálo</i> river	<i>s-teltá'lō</i> ⁶

¹ F. Boas, *The Salish Languages of British Columbia*, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1890, 6th Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 127.

² C. Hill-Tout, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1902, Report on the Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

³ F. Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131. *k'* is here and in other forms equivalent to our *q*; *q* to our *x*; *q* to our *g*; *ll* to our *l* (and *l*); *ll'* to our *ll*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ F. Boas, Report of British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1898, 12th and Final Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 28.

⁶ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

Shuswap	<i>s-kápk'en</i> head plur.	<i>s-k'epkápqen</i> ¹ (probably misprint for <i>-kepkápk'en</i>)
	<i>k'ēst</i> bad	<i>ky'eskēst</i> ¹ (probably misprint for <i>-k'ēst</i>)
Okanagan	<i>s-k'ēlq</i> Indian	<i>s-k'Elk'ēlq</i> ²
Thompson River	<i>vāenq</i> stone	<i>cencāenq</i> ³
	<i>s-pam</i> camp fire	<i>s-pempám</i> ³
	<i>s-nikiáp</i> coyote	<i>s-nīknikiáp</i> ³ (<i>-ī-</i> is very open and short, <i>-i-</i> is close and equivalent to our <i>-i-</i> ; hence type II b)
	<i>s-quasīt</i> to walk	<i>s-qusquasīt</i> ³ (type II c)

An interesting Thompson River example of type II is:—

cirāp tree *cipcirāp*³

An example of type III (reduplicating *-aw-* contracted to *-o-* or *-ō-*), but with retained *-w-* (Comox *-g^w-*) is:—

Okanagan *tētūwēt* boy *tōtūit*⁴ (based on unre-duplicated form of simplex; final vowel of stem apparently shortened)

This example follows type III b. As illustrating diversity of usage in the treatment of the same stem in different Salish languages, compare with this:—

Lower Lillooet *tū'ā^wwut'* boy *tūtū'ā^wwut'*⁵ (*-u-* is short and close)

This follows type III a, besides which the stem itself seems to differ markedly in regard to vocalic quantity and rhythm from the cognate Okanagan stem. Shuswap agrees better with Okanagan:—

tūwēt boy *tūtūwēt*⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 28.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 135.

⁵ Some Lower Lillooet linguistic material was obtained in January, 1912, from I nace Jacob (Indian name *Yisp*).

⁶ F. Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131.

It would seem that type VII, which is only sporadically represented in Comox, is more typically developed in Interior Salish. Examples are:—

Shuswap	<i>tsitq</i> house	plur. <i>tsitsítq</i> ¹
	<i>gīēia</i> old woman	<i>gīgīēia</i> ¹
Thompson River	<i>tcītq</i> house	<i>tcitcītq</i> ²
	<i>s-tsuk</i> picture	<i>s-tsutsúk</i> ²
	<i>s-k'ák'qa</i> dog	<i>s-k'ák'ák'qa</i> ²
	<i>s-peúzō</i> bird	<i>s-pepezúzō</i> ² (this form, however, may really be diminutive plural, <i>s-peúzō</i> being diminutive, with final reduplication, of <i>s-pežō</i> "animal," whose plural is normally formed: <i>s-pežpežō</i> , ² type I)
	<i>s-kikeláqoa</i> musk-rat	<i>s-kikikeláqoa</i> ²
Lower Lillooet	<i>tcít'ux</i> house	<i>tcitcít'ux</i> ³
	<i>qō'ō</i> water	<i>qōqō'ō</i> ³
Note also:—		
Nanaimo	<i>k'únes</i> whale (i.e. <i>qúnēs</i>)	<i>k'ōkútnis</i> ⁴ (probably misprint for <i>-k'útnis</i>)

It is interesting to contrast with this plural (*qōqwínis* in our orthography) Comox *qwad'qwádîs* humpbacked whales (<*qwan-qwánîs*) of type I. Here again we see the tendency for different Salish languages to form the plural of the same stem according to different types.

Type IX also is illustrated outside of Comox. Examples are:—

Nanaimo	<i>lálēm</i> house	<i>lalálēm</i> ⁴
	<i>wúqas</i> frog	<i>hāuwēqas</i> ⁴ (- <i>u</i> - presumably glide; <i>hāw</i> - dissimilated from <i>*wāw</i> -?)
Tsil'qéuk	<i>mēla</i> son	<i>māmela</i> ⁵

¹ *ibid.*, p. 131.

² F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12 Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 28.

³ Obtained from Ignace Jacob.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

Type X is illustrated in:—

Nanaimo	<i>k'ák'en</i> post	plur. <i>k'álak'en</i> ¹ (<i>ā</i> is apparently our <i>ê</i>)
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The last example, with its inserted *-la-*, shows also another method of plural formation, one not found, at least as far as can be judged from available material, in Comox. Other examples of this inserted *-l(a)-* are:—

Nanaimo	<i>há'pet</i> deer	<i>halá'pet</i> ² (type IX)
	<i>tcitctek'an</i> mink	<i>tciletctek'an</i> ² (type VII)
	<i>spák'em</i> flower	<i>spálak'em</i> ¹
Tcil'qéuk	<i>k'āmi</i> maid	<i>k'ālam</i> ³
	<i>stekēyū</i> horse	<i>stelekēyū</i> ³
	<i>yāsuk</i> hat	<i>yālsuk</i> ³

There seem to be still other types of plural formation in Salish that are not represented in the Comox material given in this paper. One of these is to prefix *-A-* (Boas and Hill-Tout write *-E-*), which may be palatalized to *-i-*, to the stem. Examples of this type are:—

Nanaimo	<i>s-mēyeç</i> deer	<i>s-emēyeç</i> ⁴
Tcil'qéuk	<i>s-wēeka</i> man	<i>s-īwēeka</i> ³ (<i>-A-</i> palatalized to <i>-i-</i> , <i>-ī-</i> by <i>s-?</i>)

This type is perhaps a reduced form of another one that occurs with some frequency, reduplication with *ca-*. Examples are:—

Tcil'qéuk	<i>lále^m</i> house	<i>lelále^m</i> ³
	<i>s-mālt</i> stone	<i>s-memālt</i> ³
Shuswap	<i>la</i> good	<i>lelá</i> ⁵

Nanaimo *lalále^m* "houses," as compared with Tcil'qéuk *lelále^m*, suggests, in turn, that *ca-*reduplication is reduced from *ca-*reduplication (type IX). Tcil'qéuk *yēsīām* "chiefs"³ from *sīām* may be dissimilated from **sesīām* (or does *y-* reduplicate *-ī-* of stem?). Vocalic changes (*ē* to *ō* and *ā*) are illustrated in:—

Tcil'qéuk	<i>s-wēekātł</i> boy	<i>wōekātł</i> ³
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¹ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

² *ibid.*, p. 128.

³ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

⁴ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<i>s-wěwilus</i> youth	<i>s-wăwilus</i> ¹ (this may be considered, however, as formed from unduplicated simplex according to Type IX)
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With the latter example compare Comox *wě''wāłos* "young men" from *wě'wāłos*.

To sum up, it is clear that there are a number of wide-spread Salish methods of forming the plural, which may, however, at last analysis turn out to be capable of reduction to Type I (of which Type II may be a reduced form). It is conceivable that sub-types, which have developed in particular cases from this by secondary phonetic processes (cf., e.g., Comox Types III and VIII), set the pace for new purely analogical, not etymologically justifiable, forms, so that now any one Salish language exhibits great irregularity. Certain of these secondary types seem to be favoured in one language, others in another, so that, as we have seen, the same stem is sometimes differently treated in different languages. To unravel the history of reduplicated (and other) plurals in Salish, however, requires a far more abundant body of material, for purposes of comparison, than has as yet been made accessible.

DIMINUTIVE REDUPLICATION. The last remark applies even more forcibly to the study of Salish diminutive formations, for here there is a still greater variety of types represented. Available comparative data are quite scanty, so that only a few points can here be referred to. The most consistently carried out difference between plural and diminutive reduplication in Salish is that in the former the first two consonants of the stem (though not infrequently only the first) are reduplicated, while in the latter only the first is reduplicated, never also the second. At the same time there is a marked tendency, as in so many Comox examples, for vocalic reduction of the stem. Reduplication with *ē*-vowel seems also characteristic of many forms; also breaking of stem vowel and umlaut of *a* to *ē* or *ē* seem to be found.

Some of the types represented, outside of Comox, are:—

¹ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20

Type X.

Nanaimo	<i>lálēm</i> house	diminutive <i>ləlēm</i> ¹ (based on unreduplicated simplex)
Okanagan		<i>héhōlēm</i> little girl ² (<i>h</i> = our <i>x</i> ^ν)

Type XII.

Nanaimo	<i>wúqas</i> frog	<i>wéwēqas</i> ³
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Type XIX a.

Nanaimo	<i>k'ák'en</i> post	<i>k'ák'k'en</i> ³
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Type XXI a.

Shuswap	<i>pasítlkua</i> lake	<i>papsítlkua</i> ⁴
Thompson River	<i>s-núkoa</i> friend	<i>núnkoa</i> ⁷

Type XXIII.

Tcil'qéuk	<i>s-tálō</i> river	<i>s-tátelō</i> ⁵
Nanaimo	<i>s-tá'lo</i> river	<i>s-tátelō</i> ⁶

Type XXVI a.

Nanaimo	<i>s-púk'em</i> flower	<i>s-pápk'em</i> ⁶
Comparable perhaps to Comox Type XXX a is:—		
Thompson River	<i>s-pêê'tc</i>	<i>s-pápaats</i> ⁷ (<i>-aa</i> = <i>-a'a</i> — black bear (<i>ê</i> = our <i>e</i>) ?)

Other diminutive types than those listed for Comox undoubtedly exist in Salish. Among these is reduplication with *ca-* (cf. plural types above), as examples of which may be given:—

Thompson River	<i>c-mēits</i> deer	<i>c-mēmēits</i> ⁸
Tcil'qéuk	<i>lúlē</i> house	<i>lélēm</i> ⁹ (based on unreduplicated form of simplex; change of <i>-ē-</i> to <i>-ā-</i> is perhaps parallel to that of Comox <i>-a-</i> to <i>-ī-</i>)

¹ F. Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 6th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 129.

² C. Hill-Tout, Report on the Ethnology of the Okanák'ēn of British Columbia, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xli, 1911, p. 143.

³ F. Boas, *ibid.*

⁴ Boas, *ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵ C. Hill-Tout, Report B.A.A.S., 1902, Ethnological Survey of Canada, p. 20.

⁶ Boas, *ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷ Boas, Report B.A.A.S., 12th Report on N.W. Tribes, p. 29.

⁸ Boas, *ibid.*

⁹ Hill-Tout, *ibid.*

This difference of treatment again indicates that in many respects each dialectic division of Salish has gone its own way in the use of morphologic features common to Salish generally.

